A

REMONSTRANCE

OF

THE MOST GRATIOVS KING

IAMES I.

KING OF GREAT BRITTAINE, FRANCE, and IRELAND,

Defender of the Faith, &c.

FOR THE RIGHT OF KINGS, AND THE *independencie of their Crownes.*

AGAINST AN ORATION OF the most Illustrious Card. of PERRON, *pronounced in the Chamber of the* third Estate. *Ian.* 15. 1615.

Translated out of his Maiesties French Copie, by R. B. *Pastor to the Church at* Ashele *in the Countie of* Norfolke.

PRINTED BY CANTRELL LEGGE, *Printer to the Universitie of* Cambridge.

1619.

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THE PREFACE.

I Haue no humour to play the Curious in a forraine Commonwealth; or, vnrequested, to carrie any hand in my neighbours affaires. It hath more congruitie with Royall dignity (whereof God hath giuen me the Honour,) to prescribe Lawes at home for my owne Subiects, rather then to furnish forraine Kingdomes and States with counsells. Howbeit, my late entire affection to King Henrie IV. of happy memorie, my most honoured Brother; and my exceeding sorrow for the most detestable parricide acted vpon the sacred person of a King, so complete in all Heroicall and Princely vertues; as also the remembrance of my owne dangers, incurred by the practise of conspiracies flowing from the same source; hath wrought with me to sympathize with my friends in their grieuous occurrents: no doubt so much

much more daungerous, as they are leſſe apprehended and felt of Kings themſelues, euen when the danger hangs ouer their owne Heads, like the ſword ouer the head of King Damocles. Vpon whom, in caſe the power and vertue of my aduertiſements be not able effectually to worke impreſſion, at leaſt many millions of children and people yet vnborne ſhall beare me witnes; that in theſe dangers of the higheſt nature and ſtraine, I haue not been defectiue: and that neither the ſubuerſions of States, nor the murthers of Kings (which may vnhappily betide hereafter) ſhal haue ſo free paſſage in the world for want of timely aduertiſement, like the warning ſhot of a Cannon before. For touching my particular, my reſt is vp, that one of the maynes for which God hath aduanced me vpon the loftie ſtage of the ſupreame Throne, is, that my words vttered from ſo eminent a place for Gods honour, moſt ſhamefully traduced & vilified in his owne Deputies and Leiutenants, might with greater facilitie be receiued and entertained of the whole world.

Now touching the State of France; *faire was the hope which I conceiued of the three Eſtates aſſembled in Parliament at Paris. That calling to minde the murthers of their Noble Kings, and the*

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warres of the League which followed the Popes fulminations (as when a great ſtorme of haile powres downe after a thunder-cracke) and a world of writings addreſſed to iuſtifie the parricides, and the dethronings of Kings; they would haue ioyned heads, hearts, and hands together, to hammer out ſome apt and wholeſome remedie againſt ſo many fearefull attempts and rebellious practiſes. To my hope was added no little ioy, when I was giuen to vnderſtand the Deputies for the third Eſtate, had preferred an Article or Bill in Parliament: whereof the tenour and ſubſtance was concerning the meanes, whereby the people might be vnwitched of this pernicious opinion; That Popes may toſſe the French King his Throne like a tennis ball; and, that killing of Kings, is an act meritorious to purchaſe the Crowne of Martyrdome. But in fine, the proiect was encountred with diſaſtrous and infortunate ſucceſſe againſt all expectation. For this Article of the third Eſtate (like a ſigh of libertie breathing her laſt) ſerued onely ſo much the more to inthrall the Crowne, and to make the bondage more grieuous and ſenſible then before. Euen as thoſe medicines which worke no eaſe to the patient, doe leaue the diſeaſe in much worſe tearmes: ſo this remedie

inuented and tendered by the Deputies aforesaid, hath onely exasperated the present maladie of that great and glorious bodie of State: for so much as the operation and vertue of the wholesome remedie was ouermatched with peccant humours, then stirred by mayne force of thwarting and crossing opposition. Yea much better had it been, that materiall and essentiall humour of State had not beene stirred at all; then after it was once on foote and in motion, to giue the truth leaue to lie gasping and sprawling vnder the violence of a forraine faction. For the opinion, by which the Crownes of Kings are made subiect vnto the Popes will and power, was then avowed in a most Honourable Assemblie, by the averment of a Prelate in great authoritie, and of no lesse learning. He did not plead the cause as a priuate person, but as one who by representation stood for the whole bodie of the Clergie. Was there applauded, and seconded with approbation of the Nobilitie. No resolution taken to the contrarie, or in barre to his plea. After praises and thankes from the Pope, followed the printing of his eloquent harangue or Oration, made in full Parliament: a set discourse of a learned brayne, and otherwise a spirit of more then common iudgment, maintaining Kings to be depose-

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able by the Pope, if he ſpeake the word. The ſaide Oration was not onely printed with the Kings Priuiledge; *but was likewiſe addreſſed to me by the Author and Orator himſelfe; who preſuppoſed the reading thereof would forſooth driue me foorthwith to cry creake or crauen, and to ſay,* Lord Cardinall, in this high ſubiect your Honour hath ſatisfied me to the full. *All this poyſed in the ballance of equall iudgement; why may not I truely and freely affirme, the ſaid Eſtates aſſembled in Parliament, haue ſet Royall Maieſtie vpon a kind of mum-chance, I meane haue left it reſting vpon doubtfull, vncertaine, and plaine tearms of hazard: yea, that now (if the doctrine there maintained by the Clergie ſhould beare any pawme) it may lawfully be drawne into queſtion, who is King in France? For I make no queſtion, he is but a titular King that raignes onely at an others diſcretion, and whoſe Princely head the Pope hath power to bare of his Regall Crowne. In point of temporall authoritie and iuriſdiction, how can one be Soueraigne, that may be fleeced of all his temporalties by any ſuperiour power? But let men at a neere ſight marke the pith and marrowe of the Article proiected by the third Eſtate; and they ſhall ſoone perceiue without*

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helpe of perſpectiue, the skilfull Architects of the ſaid Article, aimed onely to arme their King thereby with Realitie of Regalitie; that hee might be recognized for Soueraigne within his owne Realme, and that killing their King might no longer paſſe the muſter of works acceptable to God.

But by the vehement inſtance and ſtrong current of the Clergie and Nobles, this was borne downe as a pernicious Article, as a cauſe of ſchiſme, as a gate which opens to all ſorts of hereſies: yea there it was maintained tooth and naile, that incaſe the doctrine of this Article might goe for currant doctrine; it muſt follow, that for many ages paſt in ſequence, the Church hath beene the kingdome of Antechriſt, and the ſynagogue of Satan. The Pope vpon ſo good iſſue of the cauſe, had reaſon, I trowe, to addreſſe his Letters of triumph vnto the Nobilitie and Clergie, who had ſo farre approoued themſelues faithfull to his Holineſſe; and no doubt as good reaſon to vaunt withall, that hee had nipped Chriſtian Kings in the Crowne, that hee had giuen them checke with mate, through the magnanimious reſolution of this courageous Nobilitie, by whoſe braue making head the third Eſtate had been ſo valiantly forced to giue ground. In ſcornefull and re-

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proachfull teames he qualified the Deputies of the third Eſtate, nebulones ex fœce plebis, a ſort or a number of baſe raſcals, no better then varlets or very knaues; the very dregges and ſcumme of the baſe vulgar; a packe of people preſuming to perſonate well affected Subiects, and men of deepe vnderſtanding, and to read their Maſters a learned lecture.

Now it is no wonder, that, in ſo good an office and loyall carriage towards their King, the third Eſtate hath outrunne the Clergie in the liſts-royall of true deuoir. For the Clergie denie themſelues to hold any ranke among the Kings loyall Subiects: they ſtand for a Soueraigne out of the Kingdome, to whome as to the Lord Paramount they owe ſuit and ſeruice: they are bound to aduance that Monarchie, to the bodie whereof they properly appertaine, and are vnited as parts or members; as elſewhere I haue written more at large. But for the Nobilitie, the Kings right arme, to proſtitute and ſet as it were to ſale the dignitie of their King, as if the arme ſhould giue a deadly ſtoccado or thruſt vnto the head; I ſay, for the Nobilitie to hold and maintaine euen in Parliament, their King ſtands obnoxious and liable to depoſition by any forraine power

I haue receiued aduertiſement from diuerſe parts, that in the Popes letters to the Nobility theſe words were extant, howſoeuer they haue beene left out in the impreſſion, and raſed out of the copies of the ſaid letters.

or Potentate, may not ſo fowle an affront, and ſo baſe indignitie, paſſe among the ſtrangeſt miracles and rareſt wonders of the world? For that once graunted, this conſequence is good and neceſſary; That in caſe the King, once lawfully depoſed, ſhall ſtand vpon the defenſiue, and hold out for his Regall right, he may then lawfully bee murdered. Let me here then freely profeſſe my opinion, and this it is: That nowe the French Nobility may ſeeme to haue ſome reaſon to diſrobe themſelues of their high titles, and to quit (by voluntarie reſignation) their braue and honourable ſtyles vnto the third Eſtate. For that bodie of the third Eſtate alone, hath carried a right noble heart and minde: in as much as they could neither be tickled with promiſes, nor terrified by threatnings, from reſolute ſtanding to thoſe fundamentall points, reaſons, and myſteries of State, which moſt concerne the honour of their King, and the ſecuritie of his Royall perſon.

Of all the Clergie, the man that hath moſt abandoned, or ſet his owne honour to ſale; the man to whome France is leaſt obliged in reſpect of full ties, is the Lord Cardinall of Perron: a man otherwiſe inferiour to few in matter of learning, and in the grace of a ſweete ſtyle. This learned Cardinall in-

two seuerall Orations, (the one deliuered in the presence of the Nobilitie, the other vttered in the audience of the third Estate) hath set his best wittes on worke, to draw that doctrine into all hatred and infamie, which teacheth Kings to be indeposeable by the Pope. To this purpose he tearmes the same doctrine, a breeder of schismes, a gate which opens to make way, and to giue entrance vnto all heresies; in breife, a doctrine to be held in so high a degree of detestation, that rather then he and his brother-Bishops will stoop and yeeld to the signing thereof, they will be contented like Martyrs to burne at a stake. At which resolution (or rather obstinacie in his opinion) I am in a manner amazed; more then I can bee mooued for the like brauado in many other, or any other of his Lordships illustrious ranke; for as much as he was many years together, a follower of the late King; (euen when the King followed a contrarie Religion, and was deposed by the Pope:) as also because not long before, in a certaine assemblie holden at the Iacobins in Paris, he withstood the Popes Nuntio to his face; when the said Nuntio laboured to make this doctrine, touching the Popes temporall Soueraigntie, passe for an Article of Christian faith. But in both Orations, hee sings in a newe aier, and passes

from his owne mouth sentence of condemnation against his former course and profession. I suppose, not without solide iudgement: as one that herein hath cunningly accommodated himselfe to the times. For as in the raigne of the late King, he durst not offer to broach the fustie vessell of this doctrine (such was his fore-wit:) so now he is bold to proclaime and publish this pestilent ouerture in Parliament, vnder the raigne of the said Kings sonne: whose tender yeeres, and late succession to the Crowne, make him lie the more open to the strong blasts and gusts of iniurious winds, and the more facil to bee circumuented. Such is now his Lordshippes after wisedome.

Of these two Orations, that which was pronounced in the vpper house to the Nobles, hee hath, for feare of incurring the Popes displeasure, cautelously suppressed. For therein hee hath beene somewhat prodigall in affirming this doctrine, maintained by the Clergie, to be onely problematicall: and in taking vpon him to auouch, that Catholikes of my Kingdome are bound to yeeld me the honour of due obedience. Whereas on the other side he is not ignorant, how this doctrine of deposing Princes and Kings, the Pope holds formeerely and simply necessarie;

ſarie; and approoues not by any meanes allegiance to be performed vnto me by the Catholikes of my Kingdome. Yea, if credit may be giuen vnto the abridgement of his other Oration publiſhed, (wherein he parallels the Popes power in receiuing honours in the name of the Church, with the power of the Venetian Duke in receiuing honours in the name of that moſt renowned Republike,) no marvaile that when this Oration was diſpatched to the Preſſe, hee commaunded the ſame to bee gelded of the former prodigalitie, and ſome other clauſes of like nature or ſtuffe, for feare of giuing his Holineſſe the offenſiue diſtaſt.

His pleaſure therefore was and content withall, that his Oration imparted to the third Eſtate, ſhould bee put in print; and of his courteſie hee vouchſafed to addreſſe vnto me a copie of the ſame. Which after I had peruſed; I forthwith well perceiued, what and how great diſcrepance there is betweene one man that perorates from the ingenuous and ſincere diſpoſition of a ſound heart, and an other that flaunts it in flouriſhing ſpeech with inward checkes of his owne conſcience. For euery where hee contradicts himſelfe, and ſeeemes to bee afraide leaſt men ſhould picke the marrowe

out of his bones; I meane the quidditie of his internal conceptions.

In 12. seuerall passages the L. Card. seemeth to speake against his own conscience.

First, he grants this Question is not hitherto decided by the holy Scriptures, or by the Decrees of the auncient Church, or by the analogie of other Ecclesiasticall proceedings: and neuer the lesse hee is confident in affirmation, that whosoeuer maintaine this doctrine to be wicked and abhominable, That Popes haue no power to put Kings by their supream Thrones, they teach men to beleeue, there hath not been any Church for many ages past; and that indeede the Church is the very Synagogue of Antechrist. *Pag. 85.*

Secondly, he exhorts his hearers to hold this doctrine at least for problematicall, and not necessary: yet herein he cals them to all humble submission vnto the Censorian rod, or infallible iudgement of the Pope and Clergie; by whome the cause hath beene alreadie put out of all question, as out of all hunger and cold.

Thirdly, he doth auerre, in case this Article bee authorized, it makes the Pope in good consequence to bee the Antechrist: and yet he graunts that many of the French are tolerated by the Pope to dissent in this point from his Holines, prouided, their doctrine *Pag. 99.*

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be not proposed as necessarie, and materiall to faith. As if the Pope in any sort doth giue toleration, to hold any doctrine contrarie to the positiue and punctuall doctrine of his infallible Chaire, and most of all that doctrine which by consequence inferres himselfe to be the Antechrist.

Fourthly, hee protests forwardnesse to vndergoe the flames of Martyrdome, rather then to signe this doctrine, which teacheth Kings Crownes to sit faster on their heads, then to be stirred by any Papal power whatsoeuer: and yet saith withall, the Pope winks at the French, by his toleration to hold this dogmaticall point for problematicall. Whereas by this euasion and shift, his Martyrdome affected in the cause, is like to proouе but a problematicall Martyrdome; whereof question might growe very wel, whether it is to bee mustered with grieuous crimes, or with phreneticall passions of the braine, or with condigne punishments.

Fiftly, he denounceth Anathema, dischargeth maledictions like haile-shot, against parricides of Kings: and yet elsewhere he layes himselfe open to speake of Kings onely so long as they stand actuall Kings, with Imperiall Crownes on their heads, and Royall Sceptres in their hands. But who doth not

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know that a King deposed is no longer King? And so that limme of Satan, which murthered Henrie III. then vn-king'd by the Pope, did not stabbe a King to death.

Sixtly, he doth not allowe a King to be made away by murder: and yet hee thinkes it not much out of the way, to take away all meanes whereby the King might bee able to stand in defence of his life.

Pag. 95. 97. *Seuenthly, hee abhorreth killing of Kings by appointed throat-cutting, for feare least bodie and soule should perish in the same instant: yet he doth not mislike their killing in a pitcht field, and to haue them slaughtered in a set battaile. For hee presupposeth (no doubt out of his charitable minde) that by this meanes, the soule of a poore King so dispatched out of the way, shall instantly take wings, and flie vp to heauen.*

Eightly, he saith a King deposed still retaines a certaine internall habitude, and politike impression; by vertue and efficacie whereof, he may (being once reformed and become a new man) be really restored to the lawfull vse and practise of Regalitie. Whereby hee would beare vs in hand, that when a forraine Prince hath inuaded and rauenously seized the

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Kingdome to his owne proper and ſole vſe by way of conqueſt, then he will not onely take pittie of his predeceſſor to ſaue his life, but will alſo prooue ſo kind-hearted, vpon ſight of repentance, to make reſtitution of the ſaid Kingdome without fraud or guile.

Ninthly, he ſaith euery where in his Diſcourſe, that he deales not in the cauſe, otherwiſe then as a problematicall diſcourſer, and without any reſolution one way or other: yet with might and maine he contends for the opinion, that leaues the States and Crownes of Kings controulable by the Pope: refutes obiections, propounds the authoritie of Popes and Councils, by name the Lateran Councill vnder Innocent III. as alſo the vnanime conſent of the Church. And to croſſe the Church in her moſt authenticke verdict, is, in his opinion, to bring in ſchiſme; and to leaue the world without a Church for many hundred yeares together: which (to my vnderſtanding) is to ſpeake with reſolution, and without all heſitation.

Tenthly, he acknowledgeth none other cauſe of ſufficient validitie for the depoſing of a King, beſides hereſie, apoſtaſie, and infidelitie: neuertheleſſe that Popes haue power to diſplace Kings for hereſie and apoſtaſie, he prooues by examples of Kings whome

the Pope hath curbed with deposition, not for hereſie, but for matrimoniall delicts, for ciuill pretences, and for lacke of braines.

Eleuenthly, he alledgeth euerie where paſſages, as well of holy Scripture as of the Fathers and moderne hiſtories; but ſo impertinent, and with ſo little truth (as hereafter we ſhall cauſe to appeare) that for a man of his deep learning and knowledge, it ſeemes not poſſible ſo to diſcourſe as out of his intrinſec iudgement.

Laſtly, whereas all this hath beene hudled and heaped together into one maſſe, to currie with the Pope: yet he ſuffers diuerſe points to fall from his lips, which may well diſtaſt his Holineſſe in the higheſt degree. As by name, where he preferres the authoritie of the Councill before that of the Pope, and makes the Popes iudgement inferiour to the iudgement of the French, as in fit place hereafter ſhall be ſhewed. Againe, where he repreſents to his hearers the decrees of Popes and Councills alreadie paſſed concerning this noble ſubiect: and yet affirmes that he doth not debate the queſtion, but as a Queſtioniſt, and without reſolution. As if a Cardinall ſhould bee afraid to be poſitiue, and to ſpeake inperemptorie ſtraines, after the Popes and Councills

haue

haue once decided the Queſtion. Or as if a man ſhould perorate vpon hazard, in a cauſe for the honour whereof he would make no difficulty to ſuffer Martyrdome. Adde hereunto, that his Lordſhippe hath alwaies betaken himſelfe and adhered to the contrarie part heretofore, and this to all muſt needes ariſe; that before the third Eſtate, his lippes looked one way, and his conſcience another.

All theſe points, by the diſcourſe which is to followe, and by the ripping vp of his Oration (which by Gods aſſiſtance I will vndertake) tending to the reproachfull diſhonour of Kings, and the ſubuerſion of Kingdomes, I confidently ſpeake it, ſhall be made manifeſt. Yet doe I not conceiue it can any way make for my Honour, to enter the liſts of polemic writing againſt a Cardinall. For I am not ignorant in what degree of inferioritie, a Cardinals Hat doth ſtand to the Crowne and Scepter of a King. For well I wot vnto what ſublimitie the Scripture hath exalted Kings, when it ſtyles them Gods: whereas the dignitie of a Cardinall, is but a nouell and late vpſtart inuention of man; as I haue elſewhere prooued. But I haue imbarqued my ſelfe in this action, moqued thereunto; Firſt by the common intereſt of Kings in the cauſe it ſelfe: Then by the Lord Car-

In the Preface to my Apologie.

dinall, who speakes not in this Oration as a priuate person, but as one representing the bodie of the Clergie and Nobilitie, by whom the cause hath been wonne, and the garland borne away from the third Estate. Againe, by mine owne particular: because he is pleased to take me vp, and to taxe me for a sower of dissention, and a persecutor, vnder whome the Church is hardly able to fetch her breath; yea, for one by whome the Catholikes of my Kingdome are compelled to endure all sorts of punishments: and withall he tearmes this Article of the third Estate, a monster with a fishes tayle, that came swimming out of England. Last of all, by the present estate of France; because France beeing now reduced to so miserable tearmes, that now it is counted and become a crime for a Frenchman to stand for his King: it implies necessitie of duty in her neighbours, to take the alarme, and flie to their best weapons in her defence, and to make triall whether they can put life into the truth now dying, and readie to be buried by the power of violence, that so it may resound and ring againe from remote regions.

I haue no purpose once to touch many pretty toyes wherewith many riggs in his booke are not sowed by the seedmans hand, but drowned as it were by the

whole

whole ſeedſlip, or by whole ſcuttles. Such are his allegations of Pericles, Ageſilaus, Ariſtotle, Minos, the Druides, the French Ladies, Hannibal, Pindarus, and Poeticall fables. All reſembling the redde and blewe flowers that peſter the corne when it ſtands in the fields; where they are more noyſome to the growing croppe, then beautifull to the beholding eie. Such pettie matters, nothing at all beſeemed the dignitie of the Aſſembly, or of the maine ſubiect, or of the Orator himſelfe. For it was no Decorum to enter the Stage with a Pericles in his mouth, but with the ſacred Name of God: nor ſhould his Lordſhippe haue marſhalled the paſſage of a Royall Prophet and Poet, after the example of an heathen Orator.

Neither will I giue any touch to his conceit of the Romane conqueſts; which the Lord Cardinall beſtowes in the liſt of Gods graces and temporall bleſſings, as a recompence of their zeale to the ſeruice and worſhip of Idols. As if God were a recompencer of wickednesſe, or as if the forcible eiecting of tenants out of their farmes, or of owners out of their free-holds, and other poſſeſſions, might bee reckoned among the bleſſings of God. Pag. 4.

Nor to that of the Mileſian Virgins, dragged Pag. 7. & 8.

ſtarre-naked after they were dead; which the L. Cardinall hales euen againſt the haire, and yet by the haire into his eloquent diſcourſe, for an example of the eternall torments denounced by the Lawes Eccleſiaſticall, to be inflicted after this life.

Pag. 13. Nor to his expoſition of the word Problematicall: where he giues to vnderſtand that by Problematicall, hee meaneth ſuch points as are of no neceſſity of matter of faith; and in caſe men ſhall beleeue the contradictory of the ſaid points, they are not bound for ſuch beleefe, to vndergoe the ſolemne curſe of the Church, and the loſſe of communion. Whereas Ariſtotle, of whom all ſchooles haue borrowed their tearmes, hath taught vs that euery propoſition is called a Probleme, when it is propounded in a formall doubt, though concerning the very ſubſtance and matter, it containes neceſſary truth in the proper nature thereof. As for example, to ſay in forme of queſtion, Whether is there but one God? or, Whether is man a creature indued with reaſon? By which examples it is plaine, that propoſitions in problematicall forme, doe not forgoe the neceſſity of their nature; and that many times the contradictory binds the beleeuers thereof to Anathema and loſſe of communion. There is a

Ariſt. 1. top. cap. 4. πρόλασις καὶ πρόβλημα, ſound both one thing. ἀπὸ πάσης γὰρ προτάσεως πρόβλημα ποιήσεις. prouided the word πρόλεγον or vtrùm, do ſtand before, as, Vtrùm homo ſit animal.

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confuſed heape or bundle of otherlike toyes, which my purpoſe is to paſſe ouer in ſilence, that I may now come to caſt anchor, as it were in the very bottome, bowells, and maine ſubſtance of the cauſe.

A RE-

HONI SOIT QVI MAL Y PENSE

A REMONSTRANCE OF THE MOST GRATIOVS King of Great BRITTAINE, FRANCE, and IRELAND, Defender of the Faith, &c.

FOR THE RIGHT OF KINGS, AND the independencie of their Crownes:

AGAINST AN ORATION OF the moſt Illuſtrious Cardinall of PERRON, pronounced in the Chamber of the third Eſtate.

The 15. of Ianuar. 1615.

THE L. Cardinall euen in the firſt paſſage of his Oration, hath laid this firme foundation, which is freely granted; *That Eccleſiaſtics in France are more deeply obliged to the King, then the Nobility, & third Eſtate.* His reaſon: Becauſe the Clergie doe ſweetly enioy their dignities and promotions with all their infinite wealth, of the Kings meere grace, without all danger, and with faire immunities; whereas the other two Orders hold their ciuill offices and temporall char-

ges, by a chargeable and burdenſome title or tenure, euen to the great expence of their blood, and of their ſubſtance. Thus farre his Lordſhip is in the right. But ſee now, how looſe and weake a frame he hath pinned together and erected vpon his firme and ſolide foundation: *Ergo*, the third Eſtate is to lay all care for the prouiſion of meete remedies againſt appoſted cut-throats, vpon the Clergy alone: and the ſaid remedies (as he boldly affirmes) muſt be deriued from the lawes of conſcience, which may carry an effectuall acting or operatiue efficacie vpon the ſoule; and not from ciuill or temporall puniſhments. Now this conſequence limps like a lame creeple after the premiſes. For it is no vſuall and common matter in experience, to ſee men that are deepeſt in obligation, performe their duties and couenants with moſt fidelity. Againe, were it granted the French Clergy had well and ſufficiently hitherto demonſtrated their carefull watching ouer the life and honour of their Prince; yet is it not for ſpirituall puniſhments thundred by Eccleſiaſtics, to bind the hands of the ciuill

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Magiſtrate, nor to ſtop the current of temporall puniſhments: which ordinarily carrie a greater force and vertue to the bridling of the wicked, then the apprehenſion of Gods iudgement.

The third Eſtate therefore, by whom all the Officers of France are properly repreſented, (as to whome the adminiſtration of iuſtice and protection of the Kings rights and Honour doth appertaine) can deſerue no blame in carrying ſo watchfull an eye, by their wholeſome remedie to prouide for the ſafetie of the King, and for the dignitie of his Crowne. For if the Clergie ſhall not ſtand to their tackle, but ſhrinke when it comes to the puſh of their duty; who ſhall then charge themſelues with carefull foreſight and preuention of miſcheifes? Shal not the people? Yes. And ſhall the Clergie? No. For haue not all the calamities (which the third Eſtate haue ſought prouidently to preuent) ſprung from the Clergie, as from their proper and naturall head or fountain? From whence did the laſt ciuill warres, in which a world of blood was not more pro-

fuſely then prodigiouſly and vnnaturally ſpilt, and in which the parricide of King Henrie III. was moſt impiouſly and abominably perpetrated: from whence did thoſe bloodie warres proceed, but from the depoſing of the ſaid King by the Head of the Church? Were they not Prelats, Curats, and Confeſſours; were they not Eccleſiaſtics, who partly by ſeditious preachments, and partly by ſecret confeſsions, powred many a jarre of oyle vpon this flame? Was not he that killed the forenamed King, one of the Clergie? Was not Guignard a Ieſuite? Was not Iohn Chaſtel brought vp in the ſame peſtiferous and pernicious ſchoole? Did not Ravaillac that monſter of men, being queſtioned with interrogatories at his examination, (among the reſt, by whom he had been ſo diabollically tempted and incited to his moſt execrable attempt and act of extreame horror) did not he referre the Commiſsioners for his examination, to the Sermons made the Lent next before, where they might be ſatisfied concerning the cauſes of his abominable vndertaking and ex-

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ecution? Are not Bellarmine, Eudæmonoiohannes, Suarez, Becanus, Mariana, with ſuch other monſters, (who teach the doctrine of parricides, vphold the craft of Ianus-like equiuocations in Courts of Iuſtice, and in ſecret confeſsions:) are they not all Clerics? are not all their bookes approoued and allowed, as it were by a corporation, or groſſe companie of Doctors, with ſignes manuel to the ſaid bookes? What were the heads, the cheife promoters, the complices of the powder-conſpiracy in my Kingdome? were they not Eccleſiaſtics? Did not Faux by name, a confederate of the ſame damned crew; did not he ſtoutly ſtand to the gunners part for giuing fire (which then he was to act in that moſt dolefull Tragedie,) with aſſeueration of a conſcience wel aſſured and ſetled, touching the lawfulnes of his enterpriſe? Did he not yeild this reaſon? to wit, becauſe he had beene armed with inſtruction of muſket proofe in the caſe, before he made paſſage ouer from the Low Countries for that moſt execrable purpoſe? Is it not al-

ſo the generall beleefe of that Order, that Clerics are exempted from the condition of Subiects to the King? Nay, is it not confeſſed by the L. Cardinall himſelfe, that King-killers haue ingaged themſelues to vndertake the deteſtable act of parricide vnder a falſe credence of Religion, as beeing inſtructed by their ſchoolemaſters in Religion? And who were they but Eccleſiaſticall perſons? All this preſuppoſed as matter of truth, I drawe this concluſion: Howſoeuer no ſmal number of the French Clergie may perhaps beare the affection of louing and loyall Subiects to their King, and may not ſuffer the Clericall character to deface the impreſsion of naturall allegiance; yet, for ſo much as the Order of Clerics is dipped in a deeper die, and beares a worſe tincture of dangerous practiſes then the other two Orders; I ſay, the third Eſtate had beene greatly wanting to their excellent prouidence and wiſedome, they had not prickt home to the marke, but had roued at randome, if they had relinquiſhed and transferred the care of deſignements

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and

and proiects for the life of their King, and the ſafetie of his Crowne, to the Clergie alone. Moreouer, the Clergie ſtandes bound to referre the iudgement of all matters in Controuerſie to the ſentence of the Pope, in this cauſe a party, and one that pretends Imperiall Crownes to depend vpon his holy Mitre. What hope then might the third Eſtate conceiue, that his Holineſſe would paſſe againſt his owne cauſe; when his iudgement and reſolution touching this knot in controuerſie, had been ſundry times before publiſhed and teſtified to the wide world? And whereas the plot or modell of remedies proiected by the third Eſtate, and the Kings Officers, hath not prooued ſortable in the euent: was it becauſe the ſaid remedies were not good, effectuall, and lawfull? No verily: but becauſe the Clergie refuſed to become faithfull contributors of their duty and meanes to the grand ſeruice. Likewiſe, for that after the burning of bookes, addreſſed to iuſtifie rebellions poltrous, aſſaſsins, traytors, and parricides of Kings; neuertheleſſe the authors of the

ſaid books are winkt at, and backt with more then lawfull fauour. Laſtly, for that ſome wretched parricides in fact, are made to drinke off the cuppe of publike iuſtice to the very laſt droppe; whereas to the firſt firebrands of ſedition, the ſowers of this abominable, mortall, and killing ſeed or doctrine, no man ſaith ſo much as blacke is their eye.

It ſufficiently appeares (as I ſuppoſe) by the former paſſage, that his Lordſhip exhorting the third Eſtate to refer the whole care of this Regall cauſe vnto the Clergie, hath tacked his frame of weak ioynts and tenons to a very worthy but wrong foun-
Pag. 9. dation. Howbeit, he labours to fortifie his exhortation with a more weake & feeble reaſon. For to make good his proiect he affirmes, that matters and maximes out of al doubt & queſtion, may not be ſhuffled together with points in cõtrouerſy. Now his rules indubitable are two; The firſt, It is not lawful to murther Kings for any cauſe whatſoeuer. This he confirmes by the example of King Saul, depoſed (as he confi-

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dently affirmes) from his Throne; whoſe life or limbs Dauid neuertheleſſe durſt not once hurt or wrong for his life. Likewiſe hee confirmes the ſame by a Decree of the Council held at Conſtance. His other point indubitable. The Kings of France are Soueraignes in all Temporall Soueraigntie, within the French Kingdome, and hold not by fealty either of the Pope, (as hauing receiued or obliged their Crownes vpon ſuch tenure and condition) or of any other Prince in the whole world. Which point, neuertheleſſe he takes not for certen and indubitable, but onely according to humane and hiſtoricall certentie. Now a third point he makes to be ſo full of controuerſie, & ſo farre within the circle of diſputable queſtions, as it may not bee drawne into the ranke of claſsicall and authenticall points, for feare of making a certen point doubtfull, by ſhuffling and jumbling therewith ſome point in controuerſie. Now the queſtion ſo diſputable, as he pretends, is this. A Chriſtian Prince breakes his oath ſolemnly taken to God, both to

Conc. Conſtan. Seſſ. 15.

liue and to die in the Catholique Religion and cauſe. Now ſay this Prince turnes Arrian, or Mahometan, ſay that hee fals to proclaime open warre, and to wage battell with Ieſus Chriſt. Whether may ſuch a Prince bee declared to haue loſt his Kingdome, and who ſhall declare the Subiects of ſuch a Prince to bee quit of their oath of allegiance? The L. Cardinall holds the affirmatiue, and makes no bones to maintaine, that all other parts of the Catholique Church, yea the French Church euen from the firſt birth of her Theologicall Schooles, to Caluins time and teaching, haue profeſſed that ſuch a Prince may be lawfully remooued from his Throne by the Pope, and by the Council. And ſuppoſe the contrarie doctrine were the very Quinteſſence or ſpirit of truth, yet might it not in caſe of faith be vrged and preſſed otherwiſe then by way of problematical diſceptation. That is the ſumme of his Lordſh. ample diſcourſe. The refuting whereof, I am conſtrained to put off in preſent, and referre vnto an other place; becauſe hee hath

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ſerued vs with the ſame diſhes ouer and ouer againe. There we ſhall ſee the L. Cardinall makes way to the diſpatching of Kings by death, after depoſition: that Saul was not depoſed, as his Lordſhip hath preſumed: that in the Council of Conſtance there is nothing to the purpoſe of murthering Soueraigne Princes: that his Lordſhip, ſuppoſing the French King may bee depriued of his Crowne by a Superiour power, doth not hold his liege Lord to be Soueraigne in France: that by the poſition of the French Church from age to age, the Kings of France are not ſubiect or obnoxious vnto any cenſure of depoſition by the Pope: that his Holineſſe hath no iuſt and lawfull pretence to produce, that any Chriſtian King holds of him by fealtie, or is obliged to doe the Pope homage for his Crowne.

Well then, for the purpoſe: his Lordſhip dwelles onely vpon the third point pretended queſtionable, and this he affirmes: If any ſhall condemne, or wrappe vnder the ſolemne curſe, the abettors of the Popes pow-

er to vndermine and vnking lawfull and Soueraigne Princes; the ſame ſhall runne vpon fowre dangerous rocks of apparant incongruities and abſurdities.

1 " Firſt, he ſhall offer to force and intangle
" the conſciences of many deuout perſons.
" For hee ſhall bind them to beleeeue and
" ſweare that doctrine, the contrarie wherof
" is beleeued of the whole Church, and hath
" been embraced with armes of conſtant be-
" leefe by their predeceſſors.

2 " Secondly, he ſhall ouerturne from top
" to bottome the ſacred authority of holy
" Church, and ſhall ſet open a gate vnto all
" ſorts of hereſie; by allowing lay-perſons a
" bold libertie, or licentiouſneſſe rather, to
" ſit as vmpires and iudges in cauſes of Reli-
" gion and faith. For what is that degree of
" boldneſſe, but open vſurping of the Preiſt-
" hood; what is it but putting prophane
" hands into the holy Ark; what is it but lay-
" ing of vnholy fingers vpon the holy Cenſor
" for perfumes?

3 " Thirdly, he ſhall make way to a ſchiſme,
" not poſsible to be auerted or auoided by a-

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ny humane prouidence. For this doctrine beeing held and profeſſed by all other Catholicks; how can we declare it repugnant vnto Gods word; how can we hold it impious; how can we accompt it deteſtable, but we ſhall renounce communion with the head and other members of the Church; yea, we ſhall confeſſe the Church in all former ages to haue been the Synagogue of Satan, and the ſpouſe of the Deuill?

Laſtly, by working the eſtabliſhment of this Article, which workes and labours for the ſolide eſtabliſhment of Kings Crownes; He ſhall not onely worke the intended remedy for the danger of Kings, out of all the vertue and efficacie thereof, by weakening a doctrine out of all controuerſie, in packing it vp with a diſputable queſtion; but likewiſe in ſtead of ſecuring the life & eſtate of Kings, he ſhall draw both into far greater hazards, by the trayne or ſequence of dreadfull wars, and other calamities which vſually waite and attend on ſchiſmes. 4

The L. Cardinall ſpends his whole diſcourſe in confirmation of theſe foure heads,

which we now intend to ſift in order; and demonſtratiuely to proone that all the ſaid inconueniences are meere nullities, chimericall proiects, matters of a floating imagination, and built vpon falſe preſuppoſitions. But before we come to the maine, the reader is to bee informed and aduertiſed, that his Lordſhip ſets a falſe gloſſe vpon the queſtion; and propounds the caſe not onely contrary to the truth of the ſubiect in controuerſie, but alſo to the Popes own minde and meaning. For he reſtrains the Popes power to depoſe Kings onely to caſes of hereſie, Apoſtaſie, and perſecuting of the Church; whereas Popes extend their power in the point and matter of depoſition to a further diſtance. They depoſe Princes for infringing, or in any ſort diminiſhing and empairing the priuiledges of Monaſteries: witnes Gregory the firſt in the pretended charter granted to the Abbay of S. Medard at Soiſſons, the ſaid charter beeing annexed to his Epiſtles in the rere. The ſame he teſtifies in his Epiſtle to Senator, by name the 10. of the eleuenth booke. They depoſe for naturall

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dulneſſe and lacke of capacity, whether inbred and reall, or onely pretended and imagined: witneſſe the glorious vaunt of Gregorie vii. that Childeric King of France was hoyſted out of his throne by Pope Zacharie, *Not ſo much for his wicked life, as for the weaknes of his braine and backe to beare the weighte burden of ſo great a Kingdome.* They depoſe for collating of Benefices and Prebends: witneſſe the great quarrells and ſore contentions proſecuted with all acrymony and heate by Pope Innocent iii. and Iohn King of England: as alſo by Philip the Faire, and Boniface viii. They depoſe for adulteries and for other greiuances in matrimoniall cauſes: witneſſe Philip i. for the repudiating or caſting off his lawfull wife Bertha, and marrying in her place with Bertrade wife to the Earle of Anion. Finally, I faine would I learne into what hereſie or degree of Apoſtaſie, either Henrie iv. or Frederic Barbaroſſa, or Frederic 2. Emperours had fipt, when they were ſmitten with Papall fulminations from the Popes Conſiſtory, euen to the depriuation of their Imperiall Thrones.

Caus.15. Can. Alius. Qu.6.

Paul. Æmil. in Phil. 3.

Thrones. What? was it for hereſie or Apoſtaſie, that Pope Martin iv. bare ſo hard a hand againſt Peter King of Arragon, that he acquitted and releaſed the Arragonois from their oath of allegiance to Peter their lawfull King? Was it for hereſie or Apoſtaſie, for Arrianiſme or Mahumetiſme, that Lewis xii. ſo good a King, and father of his Countrey, was put downe by Iulius the ii? Was it for hereſie or Apoſtaſie, that Sixtus 5. vſurped a power againſt Henrie iii. euen ſo farre as to denounce him vn-kingd; the iſſue whereof was the parricide of that good King, and the moſt wofull deſolation of a moſt flouriſhing Kingdome? But his Lordſhip beſt liked to worke vpon that ground, and to build vpon that foundation, which to the outward ſhew and appearance, is the moſt beautifull cauſe that can be alleadged for the diſhonouring of Kings by the weapon, and ſtroke of depoſition: making himſelfe to beleeue, that he acted the part of an Orator before perſonages not much acquainted with auncient and moderne hiſtories, and ſuch as little vnderſtood, like nouices

ces & babes in matters of State, the ſtate of the queſtion then in hand. It had therefore been a ſpeciall good warrant for his Lordſhip, to haue brought ſome authenticall inſtrument from the Pope; whereby the French might haue beene ſecured, that his Holines renounceth al other cauſes auouchable for the degrading of Kings; and that he will henceforth reſt in the caſe of hereſie, for the turning of Kings out of their freehold. As alſo that his Holines by the ſame or like inſtrument, might haue certified his gratious pleaſure; that he will not hereafter make himſelfe iudge, whether Kings bee tainted with damnable hereſie, or free from hereticall infection. For that were to make himſelfe both iudge and plaintiffe; that it might be in his power to blaſon that doctrine for hereticall, which is pure orthodoxe: and all for this end, to make himſelfe maſter of the Kingdome, and there to ſettle a Succeſſour, who receiuing the Crown of the Popes free gift and graunt, might bee tyed thereby to haue entire dependencie vpon his Holines. Hath not Pope Boniface

viii. in his proud Pontificall letters declared all those to be heretickes, that dare vndertake to affirme, the collating of Prebends appertaines to the King? It was that Popes grosse error, not in point of the fact, but in question of the right. The like crime forsooth was by Popes imputed to the vnhappy Emperour Henrie iv. And what was the issue of the said imputation? The sonne was instigated thereby to rebell against his father, and to impeach the interment of his fathers dead corps, who neuer in his life had beate his braines to trouble the sweet waters of Theologicall fountaines. It is recorded by Auentine; that Bishop Virgilius was declared heretique, for teaching the position of Antipodes. The Bull *Exurge*, marching in the rere of the last Lateran Council, sets downe this position for one of Luthers heresies, *A new life is the best repentance.* Among the crimes with which the Council of Constance charged Pope Iohn xxiii. one was this: that hee denied the immortalitie of the soule, and that *so much was publiquely, manifestly, and notoriously knowne.*

Annal. Boio. Lib. 2. Iuuanen. Episcop.

Optima pœnitentia noua vita. Conc. Constan. Sess. 2.

Now

Now in caſe the Pope ſhal be carried away, or borne downe by the ſtreame of theſe or the like errors; and in his hereticall prauitie ſhall depoſe a King of the contrary opinion, I ſhall hardly be perſwaded, the ſaid King is lawfully depoſed.

The firſt Inconvenience examined.

THE firſt inconuenience growing (in the Cardinall his conceit) by entertaining the Article of the third Eſtate (whereby the Kings of France are declared to be indepoſeable by any ſuperiour power ſpirituall or temporall) is this: *It offers force to the conſcience, vnder the penaltie of Anathema, to condemne a doctrine beleeued and practiſed by the Church, in the continuall current of the laſt eleuen hundred yeares.* In theſe words by ſecret and implicite confeſsion he graunts, that in the firſt fiue hundred yeares, the ſame doctrine was neither apprehended by faith,

nor approoued by practiſe. Wherein, to my vnderſtanding, the L. Cardinall voluntarily quittes and betraies the cauſe. For the Church in the time of the Apoſtles, their diſciples, and ſucceſſors, for 500. yeares together, was no more ignorant what authority ſhee had then to challenge ouer Emperours and Kings, then ſhee hath beene to ſeeke in the ſame point at any time ſince in any ſucceeding age: in which as pride hath ſtill flowed to the height of a full Sea, ſo purity of religion and manners hath kept for the moſt part at a lowe water-marke. Which point I put and offer ſo much the rather to conſideration, for that during the firſt 500. yeares, the Church groaned vnder the heauy burthen, both of heathen Emperours, and of hereticall Kings; the Viſigot Kings in Spaine, and the Vandals in Affrica. Of whoſe diſpleaſure the Pope had ſmall reaſon or cauſe to ſtand in any feare, or to be troubled with any quaking fit, beeing ſo remote from their dominions, and no way vnder the lee of their Soueraignty.

But let vs come to ſee, what mounts of

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aide the L.Cardinall hath amaſſed and piled vp together out of later hiſtories: prouided we ſtill beare in mind, that our queſtion is not of popular tumults, nor of the rebellion of ſubiects making inſurrections out of their owne diſcontented ſpirits and brainſicke humors, nor of lawfull Excommunications, nor of Canonicall cenſures and reprehenſions; but onely of a iuridicall ſentence for depoſition, pronounced againſt a Soueraigne Prince by the holy Father forſooth, as armed with ordinary and lawfull power to depoſe.

Now then; The L.Cardinal ſets on, and giues the firſt charge with Anaſtaſius the Emperour, whome Euphemius Patriarke of Conſtantinople would neuer acknowledge for Emperour: (that is to ſay, would neuer conſent hee ſhould bee created Emperour by the help of his voice or ſuffrage) except he would firſt ſubſcribe to the Chalcedon Creed: notwithſtanding the great Empreſſe and Senate ſought by violent courſes and practiſes to make him ſtoop to their lure. And when afterward the ſaide

Exampl.1. pag.18.Euag.hiſt. Eccleſ.lib. 3.cap.32.

Emperour, contrarie to his oath taken before, played the relaps by falling into his former hereſie, and became a perſecutor; he was firſt admoniſhed, and then excommunicated by Symmachus Biſhop of Rome. To this the L. Cardinall addes, that when the ſaid Emperour was minded to choppe the poiſon of his hereticall aſſertions into the publike formes of diuine ſeruice, then the people of Conſtantinople raiſed a tumult or vproare againſt Anaſtaſius their Emperour; and one of his Commaunders by force of armes, conſtrained Anaſtaſius to call backe certaine Biſhops whome he had ſent into baniſhment before.

In this firſt example the L. Cardinall, by his good leaue, neither comes vp cloſe to the queſtion, nor ſo much as ſalutes it a farre off. Euphemius was not Biſhop of Rome: Anaſtaſius was not depoſed by Euphemius, the Patriarch onely made no way to the creating of Anaſtaſius. The ſuddain commotion of the baſe multitude makes nothing; the rebellion of a Greeke Com-

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maunder makes leſſe, for the authorizing of the Pope to depoſe a Soueraigne Prince. The Greeke Emperour was excommunicated by Pope Symmachus: who knowes whether that bee true or forged? For the Pope himſelfe is the onely witneſſe here produced by the Lord Cardinall vpon the point: and who knowes not how falſe, how ſuppoſititious, the writings and Epiſtles of the auncient Popes are iuſtly eſteemed and reputed? But graunt it a truth; yet Anaſtaſius *excommunicated* by Pope Symmachus, is not Anaſtaſius *depoſed* by Pope Symmachus. And to make a full anſwer; I ſay further, that excommunication denounced by a forraine Biſhop, againſt a party not liuing and reſiding within the limits of his iuriſdiction, or not being one of his owne flocke, was no barre to the party from the communion of the Church; but onely a kind of publication, that he the ſaid Biſhop in his particular, would hold no further communion with any ſuch party.

For proofe whereof, I produce the Canons of Councils held at Carthage. In one

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of the ſaid Canons it is thus prouided and ordained; * If any Biſhop ſhall wilfully abſent himſelfe from the vſuall and accuſtomed Synodes, let him not be admitted to the communion of other Churches, but *let him onely vſe the benefit and libertie of his owne Church.* In another of the ſame Canons thus; * If a Biſhop ſhall inſinuate himſelfe to make a conueiance of his Monaſterie, and the ordering thereof vnto a Monke of any other Cloiſter; let him bee cut off, *let him bee ſeparated from communion with other Churches, and content himſelfe to liue in the communion of his owne flocke.* In the ſame ſenſe Hilarius Biſhop of Poictiers excommunicated Liberius Biſhop of Rome, for ſubſcribing to the Arrian Confeſsion. In the ſame ſenſe, Iohn Biſhop of Antioch excommunicated Cæleſtine of Rome, and Cyrill of Alexandria, Biſhops; for proceeding to ſentence againſt Neſtorius, without ſtaying his comming to anſwer in his owne cauſe. In the ſame ſenſe likewiſe, Victor Biſhop of Rome did cut off all the Biſhops of the Eaſt, not from the communion of their own flocks, but from

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* *Nomocan. Affric. Can.* 77. Ὀφείλειν τὰς τοιούτους τῆ κοινωνίᾳ τῆς ἰδίας αὐτῶν ἀρχεῖσθαι ἐκκλησίας

' *Can.* 8. *eiuſd. Nomo.* Ἀπὸ τῆς λοιπῶν κοινωνίας χωρίζεσθαι τὸν τὴν ἰδίαν κοινωνίαν ἀρχεσθῆ μόνη.

Anathema tibi à me Liberi. Faber. in frag. Hilarij.

communion with Victor and the Romane Church. What reſemblance, what agreement, what proportion betweene this ancient courſe of excommunication, and that way of vniuſt fulmination which the Popes of Rome haue vſurped againſt Kings, long ſince and for many ages together after the ſaid auncient courſe?

And this may ſtand for a full anſwer likewiſe to the example of Clotharius. This auncient King of the French, fearing the cenſures of Pope Agapetus, erected the territorie of Yuetot vnto the title of a Kingdome, by way of ſatisfaction for murdering of Gualter, Lord of Yuetot. For this example the L. Cardinall hath ranſackt records of 900. yeares antiquitie and vpward; in which times it were no hard peice of worke to ſhew, that Popes would not haue any hand, nor ſo much as a finger in the affaires and acts of the French Kings. Gregorie of Tours that liued in the ſame age, hath recorded many acts of exceſſe, and violent iniuries done againſt Biſhops by their Kings, and namely againſt Prætex- *Exàmpl. 2.*

tatus Biſhop of Roan; for any of all which iniurious prankes then plaied, the Biſhop of Rome durſt not reproue the ſaid Kings with due remonſtrance. But ſee here the words of Gregory himſelfe to King Chilperic: *If any of vs, O King, ſhall ſwarue from the path of iuſtice, him thou haſt power to puniſh: But in caſe thou ſhalt at any time tranſgreſſe the lines of equitie, who ſhall once touch thee with reproofe? To thee we ſpeake, but are neuer heeded and regarded, except it be thy gracious pleaſure: and be thou not pleaſed, who ſhall challenge thy greatnes, but he that iuſtly challengeth to bee iuſtice it ſelfe?* The good Biſhop, notwithſtanding theſe humble remonſtrances, was but roughly entreated, and packt into exile, being baniſhed and confined into the Iſle of Gernſeye. But I am not minded to make any deepe ſearch or inquiſition, into the titles of the Lords of Yuetot: whoſe honourable priuiledges and titles are the moſt honourable badges and cognizances of their anceſtors, and of ſome remarquable ſeruice done to the crowne of France: ſo farre I take them to differ from a ſatisfaction for ſinne,

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by name the ſinne of murther. And for the purpoſe I onely affirme, that were the credit of this hiſtorie beyond all exception, yet makes it nothing to the preſent queſtion, wherein the power of depoſing, and not of excommunicating, ſupreame Kings is debated. But ſuppoſe the King by charter granted the ſaid priuiledges for feare of excommunication; how is it prooued thereby, that Pope Agapetus had lawfull and ordinarie power to depriue him of his Crowne? Nay, doubtleſſe it was rather a meanes to eleuate and aduance the dignitie of the Crowne of France, and to ſtyle the French King, a King of Kings, or a King-maker: as one inueſted with Soueraigntie, and tranſcendent power to conferre the qualitie of King, vpon all the reſt of the Nobles and Gentrie of his Kingdome. Doth not ſome part of the Spaniſh Kings greatnes, conſiſt in creating of his Grandoes, priuiledged to ſtand couered with Spaniſh bonnets euen in the Kings preſence?

In the next place followes Gregorie I. who in the 10. Epiſtle of the 11. booke, *Examp. 3. pag. 22.*

confirming the priuiledges of the Hoſpitall at Auguſtodunum in Bourgongne, prohibits all Kings and Prelates whatſoeuer, to infringe or diminiſh the ſaid priuiledges, in whole or in part. His formall and expreſſe words be theſe: *If any King, Prelate, Iudge, or any other ſecular perſon, informed of this our conſtitution, ſhall preſume to go or to do contrarie thereunto, let him bee caſt downe from his power and dignitie.* I anſwer; the Lord Cardinall here wrongs himſelfe, and his great reading very much, in taking imprecations for Decrees. Might not euen the meaneſt of the people vſe the ſame tenour of words, and ſay? If any ſhall touch the life, or the moſt ſacred Maieſtie of our Kings, (be he Emperour, or be he Pope,) let him be accurſed; let him fall from his eminent place of authoritie; let him looſe his dignity; let him tumble into beggary, diſeaſes, and all kinds of calamities? I forbeare to ſhew how eaſie a matter it is for Monkes, to forge titles after their owne humour, and to their owne guſt or liking, for the vpholding and maintaining of their priuiledges.

As for the purpoſe; the ſame Gregory citeth in the end of his Epiſtles an other priuiledg, of like ſtuffe and ſtamp to the former, granted to the Abbey of S. Medard at Soiſſons. It is fenced with a like clauſe to the other. But of how great vntruth, and of how little weight, the very date which it beares in the cloſe makes manifeſt proofe: For it runs, Dated the yeare of our Lords Incarnation 593. the 11. Indiction; whereas the 10. Indiction agrees to the yeare 593. Beſides, it was not Gregories cuſtome or manner to date his Epiſtles according to the yeare of the Lord either current or complete. Againe, the ſaid priuiledge was ſigned by the Biſhops of Alexandria and Carthage; who neuer knew (as may well be thought) whether any ſuch Abbey of S. Medard, or citie of Soiſſons, was euer founded and built in the world. Moreouer, they ſigned in the thickeſt of a crowd as it were of Italian Biſhops. Laſtly, he that ſhall read in this Gregories Epiſtles, with what ſpirit of reuerence and humility he ſpeakes of Emperours; will hardly beleeue that euer he armed himſelfe

with authoritie to giue or to take away Kingdomes. He ſtyles himſelfe *the Emperours vnworthie ſeruant: preſuming to ſpeake vnto his Lord, when he knowes himſelfe to bee but duſt and a very worme. Hee profeſſeth ſubiection vnto the Emperours commaunds, euen to the publiſhing of a certaine Law made by the Emperour, which in his iudgement ſomewhat iarred and iuſtled with Gods Lawe:* as elſwhere I haue ſpoken more at large.

Epiſt. 61. l. 2. Ego autem indignus pietatis tuæ ſeruus. Ego verò hæc Dominis meis loquens, quid ſum niſi puluis & vermis? Ibid. Ego quidem iuſſioni ſubiectus, &c. Ep. 61. l. 2. Examp. 4.

The L. Cardinall next brings vpon the ſtage Iuſtinian 2. He, beeing in ſome choller with Sergius Biſhop of Rome, becauſe he had no humor and inclination to fauour the erroneous Synode of Conſtantinople, gaue order to haue the Biſhop apprehended by his Conſtable Zacharias. But by the Romane Militia, (that is, the ſouldiarie or troupes which the Emperour then had in Italie) Zacharias was repulſed and hindered from his deſigne, euen with opprobrious and reproachfull tearmes. His Lordſhip muſt haue my ſhallownes excuſed, if I reach not his drift and reach in this allegation, wherein I ſee not one word of deposing from the

Empire,

Empire, or of any ſentence denounced by the Pope.

Here are now 712. yeares expired after the birth of Ieſus Chriſt: in all which long tract and continued courſe of time, the L. Cardinall hath not light vpon any one inſtance, which might make for his purpoſe with neuer ſo little ſhew. For the example of the Emperour Philippicus, by the Cardinall alleadged next in ſequence, belongs to the yeare 713. And thus lies the hiſtorie. This Emperour Philippicus Bardanes, was a profeſſed enemie to the worſhipping of Images, and commanded them to be broken in peices. The very ſame time the Romane Empire was ouerthrowne in the Weſt, and ſore ſhaken or battered by the Saracens in the Eaſt. Beſide thoſe miſeries, the Emperour was alſo incumbred with a ciuill and inteſtine warre. The greateſt part of Italie was then ſeized by the Lombards; the Emperour himſelfe in Italie had nothing left, ſaue onely the Exarchat of Rauenna, and the Dutchie of Rome, then halfe abandoned by reaſon that his forces were then *Examp. 5.*

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but weake, and as it were in the wane. Pope Constantine gripes this occasion whereon to ground his owne greatnes, and to shake off the yoke of the Emperour his Lord: Vndertakes against Philippicus the cause of Images: By a Councel declares the Emperour heretique: Prohibites his rescripts or coine to be receiued, and to goe currant in Rome: Forbids his Imperiall statue to be set vp in the Temple, according to auncient custome. The tumult growes to a height: The Pope is principall promoter of the tumult: In the heate whereof the Exarche of Rauenna suffers a bloody and a violent death. Here see now the mutinie of a subiect against his Prince, to pull from him by force and violence a citie of his Empire. But who sees in all this any sentence of deposition from the Imperiall dignity? Nay, the Pope then missed the cushion, and was disappointed vtterly of his purpose. The citie of Rome stood firme, and continued still in all due tearmes of obedience to the Emperour.

Examp. 6. About some 12. yeares after, the Emperour

rour Leo Iſauricus (whome the Lord or Ferron is pleaſed to call Iconoclaſt) falls to fight it out at ſharpe, and to proſecute worſhippers of Images with all extremitie. Vpon this occaſion, Pope Gregorie 2. (then treading in the ſteps of his predeceſſor,) finding the citie of Rome but weakly prouided of men or munition, and the Emperour to haue his hands full in other places, findes alſo ſuch meanes to make the citie riſe in rebellious armes againſt the Emperour, that he makes himſelfe in ſhort time maſter thereof. Thus far the L. Cardinall: whereunto I make this direct and breife ſatisfaction; That degrading an Emperour from his Imperiall dignitie, and reducing a citie to reuolt againſt her Maſter (that a man at laſt may carrie the peice himſelfe, and make himſelfe Lord thereof) are two ſeuerall actions of ſpeciall difference. If the free-hold of the citie had beene conueied to ſome other by the Pope depriuing the Emperour, as proprietarie thereof; this example might haue challenged ſome credit, at leaſt in ſhew: but ſo to inuade the citie

to his owne vſe, and ſo to ſeize on the right and authority of another; what is it but open rebellion, and notorious ambition? For it is farre from the nature, from the courſe and practiſe of Eccleſiaſticall cenſure, when the ſpirituall Paſtor of ſoules, Chriſts Vicar generall forſooth, pulles the cloake of a poore ſinner from his backe by violence, or cuts his purſe, and thereby appropriates an other mans goods to his priuate vſe. It is to be obſerued withall, that when the Emperours were not of ſufficient ſtrength, and when Popes had power to beard and to braue Emperours; then theſe Papall practiſes were firſt ſet on foot. This Emperour notwithſtanding, turned head and peckt againe, like a good cocke of the kind; his Lieutenant entred Rome, and Gregorie 3. ſucceſſour to this Gregorie 2. was glad to honour the ſame Emperour with ſtyle and title of his Lord: witnes two ſeuerall Epiſtles of the ſaid Gregory 3. written to Boniface, and ſubſcribed in this forme: *Dated the tenth Calends of December: In the raigne of our moſt pious and religious Lord, Auguſtus*

Data 10. Cal. Decem. Imperante Dom. piiſſi-

ſtus Leo, crowned of God, the great Emperour, in the tenth yeare of his raigne.

mo Auguſto Leone, à Deo coronato, magno Imp. anno decimo Imperij eius. Examp. 7.

The L. Cardinall with no leſſe abuſe alleadgeth Pope Zacharie, by whome the French, as hee affirmes, were abſolued and freed from the oath of allegiance, wherein they ſtood bound to Childeric their King. And for this inſtance, his Lordſhip ſtands vpon the teſtimonie of Paulus Æmilius, & du Tillet, a paire of late writers. But by authors more neere that age wherein Childeric raigned, it is teſtified with more authenticke truth, that it was the free and voluntarie act of the French, onely asking the aduiſe of Pope Zacharie, but requiring neither his leaue or his abſolution. Ado Biſhop of Vienna, in his Chronicles hath it after this manner: *The French, following the Counſell of Embaſſadors, and of Pope Zacharie, elected Pepin their King, and eſtabliſhed him in the Kingdome.* Tritemius in his abridgement of Annals, thus: *Childerit, as one vnfit for gouernement, was turned out of his Kingdome, by common conſent of the Eſtates and Peeres of the Realme, ſo aduiſed by Zacharie Pope of Rome.*

Godfridus of Viterbe in the 17. part of his Chronicle; and Guaguin in the life of Pepin, affirme the ſame. And was it not an eaſie matter to worke Pepin by domeſtick or by forraine and Trans-alpine counſell to lay hold on the Kingdome, when he could not bee hindered from faſtening on the Crowne, and had already ſeizd it in effect, howſouer he had not yet attained to the title and name of King? Moreouer, the rudeneſſe of that Nation, then wanting knowledge and Schooles either of diuinitie, or of Academicall ſciences, was a kind of ſpurre to make them runne for counſell ouer the mountaines: which neuertheleſſe in a cauſe of ſuch nature, they required not as neceſſarie and eſſentiall, but onely as decent and for faſhion ſake. The Pope alſo for his part was well appaied, by this meanes to draw Pepin vnto his partie, as one that ſtood in ſome need of Pepins aide againſt the Lombards; and the more, becauſe his Lord the Emperour of Conſtantinople was then brought ſo low, almoſt on his knees, that he was not able to ſend ſufficient aide vnto

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his vaſſall the Pope, for the defence of his territories againſt his enemies. But had Zacharie (to deale plainely) not ſtood vpon the reſpect of his owne commoditie and aduantage, more then vpon the regard of Gods feare; hee would neuer haue giuen counſell vnto the ſeruant, vnder the pretended colour of his Maſters dull ſpirit, ſo to turne rebell againſt his Maſter, and to gird his owne temples with his Maſters imperiall Crowne. The Lawes prouide Gardians, or ouerſeers, for ſuch as are diſtempered and not well in their wits; they neuer depriue and ſpoile them of their eſtate: they puniſh crimes, not diſeaſes and infirmities by nature. Yea, in France it is a very auncient cuſtome, when the King is troubled in his wittes to eſtabliſh a Regent, who for the time of the Kings diſabilitie, may beare the burthen of the Kingdomes affaires with patent and title of Regencie. Such was the practiſe of that State in the caſe of Charles 6. when he fell into a phrenſie; whome the Pope, notwithſtanding Charles his moſt grieuous and ſharpe fits, neuer offered to de-

grade, or to robbe of his Regall rights. And to be ſhort, what reaſon, what equity will beare the child to be puniſhed for the Fathers debilitie? Yet ſuch puniſhment was faſtened vpon Childerics whole race and houſe, who by this practiſe were all diſinherited of the Kingdome. But ſhall wee now take ſome view, of the L. Cardinalls excuſe for this exemplarie fact? The cauſe of Childerics depoſing (as the L. Cardinall ſaith) did neerely concerne and touch Religion. For Childerics imbecilitie brought all France into danger, to ſuffer a moſt wofull ſhipwracke of Chriſtian religion, vpon the barbarous and hoſtile inuaſion of the Saracens. Admit now this reaſon had beene of iuſt weight and value in thoſe times, or in Childerics caſe; yet conſideration ſhould haue been taken, whether ſome one or other of that Royall ſtemme, and of the Kings owne Succeſſors neereſt of blood, was not of better capacitie to rule and mannage that mightie State. The feare of vncertaine and accidentall miſcheife, ſhould not haue driuen them to flie vnto the cer-

Pag. 25.

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taine miſcheife of actuall and effectuall depoſition. They ſhould rather haue ſet before their eies the example of Charles Martel, his Pepins father, who in a farre more eminent danger, (when the Saracens had already maſtered, and ſubdued a great part of France) valiantly encountred, and withall defeated the Saracens, ruled the Kingdome vnder the title of Steward of the Kings houſe, the principall Officer of the Crown, without affecting or aſpiring to the Throne for all that great ſtep of aduantage, namely the Saracens then being quite broken, and no longer dreadfull to the French Nation.

In our owne Scotland, the ſway of the Kingdome was in the hand of Walles, during the time of Bruſe his impriſonment in England, who then was lawfull heire to the Crowne. This Walles or Vallas had the whole power of the Kingdome at his beck and command. His edicts and ordinances to this day ſtand in full force. By the deadly hatred of Bruſe, his mortall enemie, it may be conjectured, that Walles might haue been prouoked and inflamed with de-

fire

ſire to truſſe the Kingdome in his talants. And notwithſtanding all theſe incitements, he neuer aſſumed or vſurped other title to himſelfe, then of Gouernour or Adminiſtrator of the Kingdome. The reaſon. Hee had not been brought vp in this newe doctrine and late diſcipline, whereby the Church is endowed with ſuperlatiue power to giue and to take away Crownes. But now (as the L. Cardinall would beare the world in hand) the ſtate of Kings is brought vnto a very dead lift. The Pope forſooth muſt ſend his Phiſitians, to know by way of inſpection or ſome other courſe of Art, whether the Kings braine be crackt or ſound: and in caſe there be found any debility of wit and reaſon in the King, then the Pope muſt remooue and transferre the Crowne, from the weaker braine to a ſtronger: and for the acting of the ſtratageme, the name of Religion muſt be pretended. Ho, theſe heretikes begin to crawle in the Kingdome: order muſt be taken they be not ſuffered by their multitudes and ſwarmes, like locuſts or caterpillars to peſter

ſter and poiſon the whole Realme. Or in a caſe of matrimonie, thus: Ho, marriage is a Sacrament: touch the Order of Matrimonie, and Religion is wounded. By this deuiſe not onely the Kings vices, but likewiſe his naturall diſeaſes and infirmities are quartered within the circle of Religion; and the L. Cardinal hath not done himſelfe or the cauſe any right, in reſtraining the Popes power to depoſe Kings, vnto the caſes of hereſie, Apoſtaſie, and perſecution of the Church.

In the next place followes Leo III. who by ſetting the Imperiall Crowne vpon the head of Charles, abſolued all the ſubiects in the Weſt, of their obedience to the Greek Emperours, if the L. of Perrons credit in this example will abide the teſt. But indeed it is crowded among the reſt with a ſlie tricke, and is cleane contrary to the naked truth of all hiſtories. For it ſhall neuer bee iuſtified by good hiſtory, that ſo much as one ſingle perſon or man (I ſay not one Country, or one people) was then wrought or wonne by the Pope, to change his copy

and Lord, or from a ſubiect of the Greeke Emperours, to turne ſubiect vnto Charlemayne. Let him put out mine eye with any one Towne that Charlemayne recouered from the Greeke Emperours, by his right and title to his Empire in the Weſt: No, the Greeke Emperours had taken their farwell of the Weſt Empire long before. And therefore to nicke this vpon the tallie of Pope Leo his Acts, that he tooke away the Weſt from the Greeke Emperour; it is euen as if one ſhould ſay, that in this age the Pope takes the Dukedome of Milan from the French Kings, or the citie of Rome from the Emperours of Germany, becauſe their predeceſſors in former ages haue beene right Lords and gouernours of them both. It is one of the Popes ordinary and ſolemne practiſes to take away, much after the manner of his giuing. For as he giues what he hath no right and power to giue, or beſtowes vpon others what is already their owne: ſo he takes away from Kings and Emperours the poſſeſsions whereof they are no way ſeized by reall poſſeſsion, nor by right in Law.

Lawe. After this manner he takes the Weſt from the Greeke Emperours, when they hold nothing in the Weſt, and lay no claim to any citie or towne of the Weſt Empires. And why ſhould this way of depriuation be thought to differ, from ſpoyling a naked man of his garments, and killing a man alreadie dead? True it is, the Imperiall Crown was then ſet on Charlemaynes head by Leo the Pope: did Leo therefore giue him the Empire? No more thē a Biſhop that crowns a King, at his Royall and ſolemne conſecration doth giue him the Kingdome. For ſhal the Pope himſelfe take the Popedome from the Biſhop of Oſtia as of the Biſhops gift, becauſe the crowning of the Pope is an office of long time peculiar to the Oſtian Biſhop? It was the cuſtome of Emperours, to be crowned Kings of Italy by the hands of the Archbiſhop of Milan: did the Archbiſhop therfore giue the Kingdome of Italy to the ſaid Emperours? And to retume vnto Charlemayne; If the Pope had conueied the Empire to him by free and gracious donation, the Pope doubtleſſe in the ſo-

lemnitie of Charlemaynes coronation, would neuer haue performed vnto his own creature, an Emperour of his owne making, the duties of adoration; as Ado that liued in the same age hath left it on record: *After the solemne praises ended* (saith Ado) *the cheife Bishop honoured him with adoration, according to the custome of auncient Princes.* The same is likewise put downe by Auentine, in the 4. booke of his Annals of Bauaria. The like by the President Fauchet in his antiquities? and by Mons. Petau Councellor in the Court of Parlement at Paris, in his preface before the Chronicles of Eusebius, Hierom, and Sigebert. It was therefore the people of Rome, that called this Charles the great vnto the Imperiall dignitie, and cast on him the title of Emperour. So testifieth Sigebert vpon the yeare 801. *All the Romanes with one generall voice and consent, ring out acclamations of Imperiall praises to the Emperour; the Romanes crowne him by the hands of Leo the Pope, the Romanes giue him the style of Cæsar and Augustus.* Marianus Scotus hath as much in effect: *Charles was then called Augustus by the Romanes.*

Perfectis laudibus, à pontifice more Principum antiquorum adoratus est. *Auentinus Annalium Boiorum lib. 4. posthac ab eodem Pontifice vt cæteri veterum Principum, more maiorum adoratus est Magnus.*

Sigeb. ad an 801.

Maria. Scotus lib. 3. Annalium.

manes. And ſo Platina, *After the ſolemne ſeruice, Leo declares and proclames Charles Emperour, according to the publike decree and generall requeſt of the Romane people.* Aventine, and Sigonius in his 4. booke of the Kingdome of Italie witnes the ſame. Neuertheleſſe to gratifie the L. Cardinall: Suppoſe Pope Leo diſpoſſeſſed the Greeke Emperours of the Weſt Empire: What was the cauſe? what infamous act had they done? what prophane and irreligious crime had they committed? Nicephorus and Irene, who ruled the ſhippe of the Greeke Empire in Charlemaynes time, were not reputed by the Pope, or taken for heretikes. How then? The L. Cardinall helpes at a pinch, and puts vs in minde, that Conſtantine and Leo, predeceſſors to the ſaid Emperours, had beene poyſoned in former times with wicked hereſie, & ſtained with cruell perſecution. Here then behold an Orthodoxe Prince depoſed. For what crime? for hereſie forſooth, not inherent and perſonall in himſelfe, but in ſome of his predeceſſors long before. An admirable caſe. For I am of a contrary minde; that he was wor-

Plat. in vita Leon. 3.

Auent. Annal Boio. lib. 4. Imperium transferre iure ſuo in Germanos, Carolumq; tacito Senatus conſulto plebiſcitoq; decernunt.

thy of double honour, in reſtoring and ſetting vp the truth againe, which vnder his predeceſſors had indured ſuch oppreſsion,& ſuffered ſo great perſecution. Doubtleſſe Pope Siluester was greatly ouerſeene, and plaied not well the Pope,when he winked at Conſtantine the Great, and caſt him not downe from his Imperiall Throne, for the ſtrange infidelitie and paganiſme of Diocletian, of Maximian, and Maxentius, whome Conſtantine ſuceeded in the Empire.

Examp.9. pag.27. From this example the L. of Perron paſſeth to Fulke Archbiſhop of Reims: by whome Charles the Simple was threatned with Excommunication, and with peremptorie refuſall to continue any longer in the fidelity and allegiance of a ſubiect. To what purpoſe is this example? For who can be ignorant, that all ages haue hatched and brought forth turbulent and ſtirring ſpirits,men altogether forgetfull of reſpect and obſeruance towards their Kings,eſpecially when the world finds them ſhallow, eaſily foordable,and ſimple-witted,like vn-

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to this Prince? But in this example, where is there ſo much as one word of the Pope, or the depoſing of Kings?

Here the L. Cardinall chops in the example of Philip 1. King of France, but mangled, and ſtrangely diſguiſed, as hereafter ſhall be ſhewed. *Examp. 10. pag. 28.*

At laſt he leades vs to Gregory VII. ſurnamed Hildebrand, the ſcourge of Emperours, the firebrand of warre, the ſcorne of his age. This Pope, after he had (in the ſpirit of pride, and in the very height of all audacious ſnes) thundred the ſentence of excommunication and depoſition, againſt the Emperour Henry 4. after hee had enterpriſed this act without all precedent example: after hee had filled all Europe with blood: this Pope I ſay, ſunke downe vnder the weight of his affaires, and he died as a fugitiue at Salerne, ouerwhelmed with diſcontent and ſorrow of heart. Here lying at the point of giuing vp the ghoſt, and calling vnto him (as it is in Sigebert) a certaine Cardinall whom he much fauoured, *He confeſſes to God, and Saint Peter, and the whole Church, that he had beene* *Examp. 11. An. 1076.* *Sigeb. ad an. 1085.*

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greatly defectiue in the Paſtorall charge committed to his care: and that by the Deuills inſtigation, hee had kindled the fire of Gods wrath and hatred againſt mankind. Then he ſends his Confeſſor to the Emperour, and to the whole Church to pray for his pardon; becauſe hee perceiued his race was runne, and the laſt period of his life was then arriued. Likewiſe Cardinall Benno that liued in the ſaid Gregories time, doth teſtifie, *That ſo ſoone as he was riſen out of his Chaire to excommunicate the Emperour from his Cathedrall ſeate: by the will of God the ſaid Cathedrall ſeate, newe made of ſtrong board or plancke, did cracke and cleaue into many peices or parts: to manifeſt how great and terible ſchiſmes had beene ſowed againſt the Church of Chriſt, by an excommunication of ſo dangerous conſequence, pronounced by the man that had ſit Iudge in that Cathedrall ſeat.* Now to produce and alleadge the example of ſuch a great worthy, (who by attempting an act which neuer any man had the heart or face to attempt before, hath condemned all his predeceſſors of cowardiſe, or at leaſt of ignorance) what is it elſe, but euen to ſend vs to the ſchoole of mighty robbers and to ſeeke

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the correction and reformation of auncient vertues by late vices. Which preſident Otho Friſingenſis calling into conſideration, hee durſt freely profeſſe, *that hee had not read of any Emperour before this Henrie the 4. excommunicated or driuen out of his Imperiall Throne and Kingdome by the cheife Biſhop of Rome.* But if this quarrell may bee tried and fought out with weapons of examples, I leaue it free for any indifferent reader to iudge, what examples ought in the cauſe to be of cheifeſt authority and weight: whether late examples of Kings depoſed by Popes, for the moſt part neuer taking the intended effect; or ancient examples of Popes actually and effectually thruſt out of their thrones by Emperours and Kings.

Otho Friſingenſ. in vita Hen. 4. lib. 4. cap. 31.

The Emperour Conſtantius expelled Liberius Biſhop of Rome out of the Citie, baniſhed him as farre as Beroe, and placed Fœlix in his roome. Indeed Conſtantius was an Arrian, and in the cauſe of Liberius he vſed no leſſe impious then vniuſt proceeding. Neuertheleſſe the auncient Fathers of the Church, blame not Conſtantius for his hard

Theo. lib. 2. Hiſt. cap. 16.

and ſharpe dealing with a cheife Biſhop, ouer whom hee had no lawfull power, but reprooue him only as an enemie to the Orthodoxe faith, and one that raged with extreame rigor of perſecution againſt innocent beleeuers.

Ammia. lib. 27. In the raigne of Valentinian the 1. and yeare of the Lord 367. the ſtrong and hot contention betweene Damaſus and Vrſicinus competitors for the Biſhoppricke, filled the Citie of Rome with a bloodie ſedition, in which were wickedly and cruelly murdered 137. perſons. To meete with ſuch turbulent actions, Honorius made a law extant in the Decretalls, the words whereof be theſe; *Ifit ſhall happen henceforth by the temeritie of competitors, that any two Biſhops be elected to the See, wee ſtraitly charge and command, that neither of both ſhall ſit in the ſaid See.* By vertue of this Law, the ſame Honorius in the yere 420. expelled Bonifacius and Eulalius, competitors & Antipopes out of Rome, though not long after he reuoked Bonifacius, and ſetled him in the Papall See.

Decret. diſt. 79.

Platina. Sigebertus.

Theodoric the Goth King of Italie, ſent

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John Bishop of Rome Embassador to the Emperour Iustinian, called him home again, and clapt him vp in close prison, where he starued to death. By the same King, Peter Bishop of Altine was dispatched to Rome, to heare the cause, and examine the processe of Pope Symmachus, then accused and indighted of sundry crimes.

Anastatius. Platina. Lib. Pontifi. Diaconus.

King Theodatus about the yeare 537. had the seruice of Pope Agapetus, as his Embassadour to the Emperour Iustinian, vpon a treatie of peace. Agapetus dying in the time of that seruice, Syluerius is aduanced to the See by Theodatus. Not long after, Syluerius is driuen out by Belisarius the Emperour his Lieutenant, and sent into banishment. After Syluerius next succeeds Vigilius, who with currant coine makes purchase of the Popedome at Belisarius hands. The Emperour Iustinian sends for Vigilius to Constantinople, receiues him there with great honour: soone after, takes offence at his freenesse in speaking his mind, commands him to bee beaten with stripes in manner to death, and with a roape about his necke to

be drawne through the citie like a theife, as Platina relates the hiſtorie. Nicephorus in his 26. booke, and 17. chapter, comes very neere the ſame relation.

Platina. Baronius. Sigebertus.

The Emperour Conſtantius, in the yeare 654. cauſed Pope Martin to be bound with chains, & baniſhed him into Cherſoneſus, where he ended his life. The Popes in that age writing to the ſacred Maieſties of Emperours, vſed none but ſubmiſsiue tearmes, by way of moſt humble ſupplications, made profeſsion of bowing the knee before their ſacred Maieſties, and of executing their commands with entire obedience; payed to the Emperours twentie pound weight of gold for their Inueſtiture; which tribute was afterward releaſed and remitted, by Conſtantine the Bearded, to Pope Agatho, in the yeare 670. as I haue obſerued in an other place.

Iuſtin. Authent. 123. cap. 3.

Nay futher, euen when the power and riches of the Popes was growne to great height, by the moſt profuſe and immenſe munificence of Charlemayne and Lewis his ſonne; the Emperours of the Weſt did

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not relinquish and giue ouer the making and vnmaking of Popes, as they saw cause. Pope Adrian 1. willingly submitted his necke to this yoke: and made this Law to be passed in a Council; that in Charlemaine should rest all right and power to make election of the Pope, and to guide the sterne of the Papall See. This constitution is inserted in the Decretals, Dist. 63. Can. * *Hadrianus*, and was confirmed by the practise of many yeares.

In the yeare of the L. 963. the Emperour Otho turned Ioh. 13. out of his Pontificall robes, and placed Leo 8. in his roome. In like manner, Iohn 14. Gregorie 5. and Siluester 2. were seated in the Papal Throne by the Othos.

The Emperour Henrie 2. in the yeare 1007. deposed three Popes, namely, Benedict 9. Siluester 3. and Gregorie 6. whom Platina sticks not in very bold and broad tearmes to call, three most detestable and vile monsters. This custome continued, this practise preuailed and stood in force for diuers ages, euen vntill the times of Gregory 7. by who

*Note that in the same Dist. the Cā. of Greg. 4. beginning with Cum Hadrianus secundus, is false and supposititious, because Greg. 4. was Pope long before Hadri. 2.

Tria teterrima monstra.

the whole West was toſſed and turmoiled with lamentable warres, which plagued the world, and infeſted the Empire by name, with intolerable troubles and miſchiefes. For after the ſaid Gregorian wars, the Empire fell from bad to worſe, and ſo went on to decay, till Emperours at laſt were driuen to begge, and receiue the Imperiall Crowne of the Pope.

The Kingdome of France met not with ſo rude entreatie, but was dealt withall by courſes of a milder temper. Gregorie 4. about the yeare of the Lord 832. was the firſt Pope that perſwaded himſelfe to vſe the cenſure of Excommunication againſt a King of France. This Pope hauing a hand in the troubleſome factions of the Realme, was nothing backewrrd to ſide with the ſonnes of Lewis, ſurnamed the Curteous, when they by wicked conſpiracy were precipitated into a deſperate courſe and complot againſt Lewis their owne Father: as witneſſeth Sigebert in theſe words, *Pope Gregorie comming into France, ioyned himſelfe to the ſonnes againſt the Emperour their Father.* But

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Annals of the very same times; and he that furbushed Aimonius, a religious of S. Benedicts order, doe testifie, that all the Bishops of France fell vpon this resolution; by no meanes to side with the Pope in that vnnaturall faction, or to giue any place vnto his designe: but contrariwise, *In case the Pope should proceed to the Censure of excommunication against their King, he should returne out of France to Rome an excommunicate person himselfe.* The Chronicle of S. Denis hath words in this forme: *The Lord Apostolicall returned answer; that he was not come into France for any other purpose, but onely to excommunicate the King and his Bishops, in case they should in any sort stand opposite vnto the sonnes of Lewis, or disobedient vnto the will and pleasure of his Holinesse. The Prelats enformed hereof made answer; that in this case they they would neuer yeeld obedience to the Excommunication of the said Bishops: because it was contrarie to the authority and aduise of the auncient Canons.*

Bochel. Decret. Eccles. Gallican. lib. 2. tit. 16.

After these times, Pope Nicholas 1. deprived King Lotharius of communion (for in those times not a word of deposing) to

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make him repudiate or quit Valdrada, and to resume or take againe Thetberga his former wife. The articles framed by the French vpon that subiect, are to bee found in the writings of Hincmarus Archbishop of Reims, and are of this purport; that in the iudgement of men both learned and wise, it is an ouerruled case; that as the King (notwithstanding his errors and extrauagant demeanors) ought not by his owne Bishops to be excommunicated; euen so no forraine Bishop hath power to sit for his Iudge: because the King is to bee subiect onely vnto God, and his Imperiall authoritie, who alone had the al-sufficient power to settle him in his Kingdome. Moreouer, the Clergie addressed letters of answer vnto the same Pope, full of stinging, biting, and bitter tearms, with speaches of great scorne and contempt; as they are set downe by Auentine in his Annals of Bauaria, not forbearing to call him *theife*, *wolfe*, *and tyrant.*

Annal. Boio. lib. 4.

When Pope Hadrian tooke vpon him like a Lord Imperiall, and of more then

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tranſcendent qualitie or ſize, to commaund Charles the Bald vpon paine of interdiction, that he ſhould ſuffer the Kingdome of Lotharius to be fully and entirely conueied and conferred vpon Lewis his ſonne; the foreſaid Hincmarus, a man of great authoritie and eſtimation in that age, ſent his letters containing ſundry remonſtrances touching that ſubiect. Among other matters thus he writes. *The Eccleſiaſtics & Seculars of the Kingdome aſſembled at Reims, haue affirmed & now do affirme by way of reproach, vpbraiding, and exprobration; that neuer was the like mandate ſent before from the See of Rome to any of our predeceſſors.* And a little after: *The cheife Biſhops of the Apoſtolike See, or any other Biſhops of the greateſt authoritie and holineſſe, neuer withdrew themſelues from the preſence, from the reuerend ſalutation, or from the conference of Emperours and Kings, whether hereticks, or ſchiſmatick; and Tyrants: As Conſtantius the Arrian, Iulianus the Apoſtata, and Maximus the tyrant.* And yet a little after; *Wherefore if the Apoſtolicke Lord bee minded to ſeeke peace; let him ſeeke it ſo, that he ſtir no brawls, and breed no quarrels. For wee are no ſuch babes*

to beleeue that we can or euer ſhall attaine to Gods Kingdome; vnleſſe we receiue him for our King in earth, whom God himſelfe recommends to vs from heauen. It is added by Hincmarus in the ſame place, that by the ſaid Biſhops and Lords temporall, ſuch threatning words were blowne forth, as he was afraid once to vtter with tongue, or to ſet downe with penne. As for the King himſelfe, what reckoning he made of the Popes mandats, and how reſolutely he ſets them at his heeles, it appeares by the Kings owne letters, addreſſed as it were to the beard of Pope Hadrianus; as we may read euery where in the Epiſtles of Hincmarus. For there, after King Charles hath taxed and challenged the Pope of intolerable pride, and hit him in the teeth with a ſpirit of vſurpation, hee breakes out into theſe words: *What hell hath caſt vp this lawe ſo croſſe and prepoſterous? what infernall gulph hath diſgorged this law out of the darkeſt and obſcureſt dennes? a law quite contrary and altogether repugnant vnto the beaten way ſhewed vs in the holy Scriptures, &c.* Yea, hee flatly and peremptorily forbids the Pope

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(except he meane or desire to be recompenced with dishonour and contempt) to send any more the like mandates, either to himselfe, or to his Bishops.

Vnder the raigne of Hugo Capetus and Robert his sonne, a Council now extant in all mens hands, was held and celebrated at Reims by the Kings authority. There Arnulphus Bishop of Orleans, then Prolocutor and Speaker in the Council, calls the Pope Antichrist, and lets not also to paint him forth like a monster: as well for the most deformed and vgly vices of that vnholy See, (which thē were in their exaltation,) as also becausе the Pope then won with presents, and namely with certaine goodly horses presented to his Holinesse, took part against the King, with Arnulphus Bishop of Reims, then depriued of his Pastorall charge.

When Philip 1. had repudiated his wife Bertha, daughter to the Earle of Holland, and in her place had taken to wife Bertrade the wife of Fulco Earle of Aniou then liuing; he was excommunicated, and his

Kingdome interdicted by Vrbanus then Pope, (yet bearded with an Antipope) as the L. Cardinal here giues vs to vnderſtand. But his Lordſhip hath skipt ouer two principall points recorded in the hiſtorie. The firſt is, that Philip was not depoſed by the Pope: whereupon it is to be inferred, that in this paſſage there is nothing materiall to make for the Popes power againſt the moſt illuſtrious and abſolute dignitie of a Kings Throne and Scepter. The other point is, that by the cenſures of the Pope, the courſe of obedience due to the King before was not interrupted; nor the King diſauowed, refuſed, or diſclaimed: but on the contrary, that Iuo of Chartres taking Pope Vrbanus part, was very ſeuerly puniſhed for his preſumption, diſpoyled of his eſtate, and kept in priſon: whereof he makes greiuous complaint himſelfe in his 19. and 20. Epiſtles. The L. Cardinal beſides, in my vnderſtanding, for his Maſters honour, ſhould haue made no words of interdicting the whole Kingdome. For when the Pope, to giue a King chaſtiſement, interdicts his Kingdom,

he makes the people to beare the puniſh-ment of the Kings offence. For during the time of interdiction, the Church doores through the whole Kingdome are kept continually ſhut and lockt vp: publike ſer-uice is intermitted in all places: bells euerie where ſilent: Sacraments not adminiſtred to the people: bodies of the dead ſo proſti-tuted and abandoned, that none dares bury the ſaid bodies in holy ground. More; it is beleeued, that a man dying vnder the curſe of the interdict, (without ſome ſpeciall in-dulgence or priuiledge) is for euer damned and adiudged to eternall puniſhments; as one that dyes out of the communion, lap, and boſome of the Church. Put caſe then the interdict holds and continues for many yeares together; alas, how many millions of poore ſoules are damned, and goe to hel for an others offence? For what can, or what may the faultleſſe and innocent peo-ple doe withall, if the King (with a *Sic vo-lo*) will repudiate his wife, and ſhee yet liuing, ioyne himſelfe in matrimonie to an other?

Examp. 12. The Lord Cardinall after Philip the first, produceth Philippus Augustus; who hauing renounced his wife Ingeberga, daughter to the King of Denmarke, and marrying with Agnes daughter to the Duke of Morauia, was by Pope Innocent the third interdicted himselfe and his whole Kingdome. But his Lordship was not pleased to insert withall, what is auerred in the Chronicle of S. Denis: that Pope Celestinus 3. sent forth two Legats at once vpon this errand: *Who beeing come into the assemblie and generall Council of all the French Prelats, became like dumbe dogs that can not barke, so as they could not bring the seruice which they had taken to any good passe or issue, because they stood in a bodily feare of their owne hides. Not long after, the Cardinal of Capua was in the like taking: For hee durst not bring the Realme within the limits of the interdict, before himselfe had left the limits of the Kingdome at his backe. The King herewith incensed, thrust all the Prelates that had giuen consent vnto these proceedings out of their Sees, brought them within a* Præmunire, *confiscated their goods, &c.* To the same effect is that which we reade in

Bochel. pag. 320.

Matth.

Matth. Paris. After the Pope had giuen his Maieſtie to vnderſtand by the Cardinall of Anagnia, that his Kingdome ſhould be interdicted, vnleſſe he would be reconciled to the King of England; the King returned the Pope this anſwer; That he was not in any ſort afraid of the Popes ſentence, for as much as it could not be grounded vpon any equitie of the cauſe: and added withall, *That it no way appertained vnto the Church of Rome to ſentence Kings, eſpecially the King of Fraunce.* And this was done, ſaith Iohannes Tilius Regiſter in Court of Parlement at Paris, *by the Counſell of the French Barons.*

Moſt notable of all the reſt is the example of Philip the Faire, and hits the bird in the right eie. In the yeare 1032. the Pope diſpatched the Archbiſhop of Narbona with mandates into France, commaunding the King to releaſe the Biſhop of Apamia then detained in priſon, for contumelious words tending to the Kings defamation, and ſpoken to the Kings owne head. In very deed this Pope had conceiued a ſecret grudge, and no light diſpleaſure againſt King Phi-

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lip before: namely, becauſe the King had taken vpon him the colation of benefices, and other Eccleſiaſticall dignities. Vpon which occaſion the Pope ſent letters to the King of this tenour and ityle: *Feare God, and keepe his commandements: Know thou Philip, that in ſpirituall and temporall cauſes thou art ſubiect vnto our Highneſſe and Holineſſe: that collating of benefices and prebends doth not in any ſort appertaine to thy Kingly office and place: that, in caſe as keeper of the ſpiritualties, thou haue the cuſtodie of benefices and prebends in thy hand when they become voide, thou ſhalt by ſequeſtration reſerue the fruits of the ſame, to the vſe and beneſit of the next incumbents and ſucceſſors: and in caſe thou haſt heretofore otherwiſe collated any, we ordaine the ſaid collations to bee meerely voide: and ſo farre as herein thou haſt proceeded to the fact, wee reuoke the ſaid collations. Wee hold them for heretikes whoſoeuer are not of this beleefe.* A Legate comes to Paris, and brings theſe brauing letters: By ſome of the Kings faithfull ſeruants the letters are violently ſnatched and pulled out of the Legates hands: by the Earle of Artois they are caſt into the fire. The good

King

King answers the Pope, and payes him in as good coyne as he had sent. *Philip by the grace of God King of the French, to Boniface calling and bearing himselfe the Soueraigne Bishop, little greeting or none at all. May thy exceeding sottishnesse vnderstand, that in temporall causes Wee are not subiect vnto any mortall and earthly creature: that collating of benefices and prebends, by Regall right appertaines to our Kingly office and place: that appropriating their fruits when they become voide, belongs to Ourselfe alone during their vacancie: that all collations by Vs heretofore made, or to bee made hereafter, shall stand and remaine in full strength, force, and vertue: that in the validitie and vertue of the said collations, We will euer couragiously defend and maintaine, all Incumbents and possessors of benefices & prebends so by Vs collated. We hold them all for sots and senselesse, whosoeuer are not of this beleefe.* The Pope incensed herewith excommunicats the King: but no man dares publish that censure, or become bearer thereof. The King notwithstanding the said proceeding of the Pope, assembles his Prelates, Barons, and Knights at Paris: puts question to the whole assembly, of whom

they hold their Fees, with all other the Temporalties of the Church. They make answer with one voice, that in case of the said rights and tenures they disclaime the Pope, and know none other Lord beside his Maiestie. Meane while the Pope works with Germanie and the Low Countries, to stirre them vp against France. But Philip dispatches Guilielmus Nogaretius into Italie. William by the direction and aide of Sciarra Columnensis, takes the Pope at Anagnia, mounts him vpon a leane ill-fauoured iade, carries him prisoner to Rome; where ouercome with choller, anguish, and great indignation, hee takes his last leaue of the Popedome and of his life. All this notwithstanding, the King presently after, from the successors of Boniface receiues very ample and gratious Bulls; in which the memorie of all the former passages and actions is vterly abolished. Witnesse the Epistle of Clement 5. wherein this King is honoured with prayses, for a pious and religious Prince; and his Kingdome is restored to the former estate. In that age the French Nobi-

Extrauag. Mernit.

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lity carried other manner of ſpirits, then the moderne and preſent Nobility doe: I meane thoſe by whom the L. Cardinall hath been applauded and aſsiſted in his Oration. Yea, in thoſe former times the Prelates of the Realme ſtood better affected towards their King, then the L. Cardinall himſelfe now ſtands: who could find none other way to dally with, and to ſhift off this pregnant example, but by plaine gloſing; that hereſie and Apoſtaſie was no ground of that queſtion, or ſubiect of that controuerſie. Wherein he not onely condemnes the Pope, as one that proceeded againſt Philip without iuſt cauſe and good ground; but likewiſe giues the Pope himſelfe the lie; who, in his goodly letters but a little aboue recited, hath enrowled Philip in the liſt of heretiks. His Lordſhip ſaith moreouer, that indeed the knot of the queſtion was touching the Popes pretence, in challenging to himſelfe the temporall Soueraignty of France; that is to ſay, in qualifying himſelfe King of France. But indeed and indeede no ſuch matter to be found. His whole pretence was the col-

lating of benefices, and to pearch aboue the King that he might crowe ouer his Crown in Temporall cauſes. At which pretence his Holineſſe yet aimeth; ſtill attributing and challenging to himſelfe plenary power to depoſe the King. Now if the L. Cardinall ſhall yet proceede to cauill, that Boniface 8. was taken by the French for an vſurper, and no lawfull Pope, but one that crept into the Papacy by fraud and ſymonie, hee muſt bee pleaſed to ſet downe poſitiuely who was Pope; ſeeing that Boniface then ſate not in the Papall chaire. To conclude, If he that craftily creeps, and indirectly ſteals into the Papacie by ſymonie, by canuaſes or labouring of ſuffrages vnder hand, or by bribery, bee not lawfull Pope; I dare bee bold to profeſſe, there will hardly bee found two lawfull Popes in the three laſt ages.

See the treatiſe of Charls du Moulin contra paruas Datas, wherein hee reporteth a

Pope Benedict in the yeare 1408. beeing in choller with Charles 6. becauſe Charles had bridled and curbed the gainefull exactions and extorſions of the Popes Court, (by which the Realme of France had been

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exhauſted of their treaſure,) ſent an excommunicatorie Bull into Fraunce, againſt Charles the King, and all his Princes. The Vniuerſitie of Paris made requeſt or motion that his Bull might be mangled, and Pope Benedict himſelfe, by ſome called *Petrus de Luna*, might be declared *heretike, ſchiſmatike, and perturber of the peace.* The ſaid Bull was *de facto* mangled and rent in peices, according to the petition of the Vniuerſitie, by Decree of Court vpon the 10. of Iune, 1408. Tenne dayes after, the Court riſing at eleuen in the morning, two Bul-bearers of the ſaid excommunicatorie cenſure vnderwent ignominious puniſhment vpon the Palace or great Hall ſtayres. From thence were lead to the Lovure in ſuch equipage as they had been brought from the Lovure preſently before: drawne in two tumbrels, cladde in coates of painted linnen, with paper-mytres on their heads, proclaimed with ſound of trumpet, and euery where diſgraced with publike deriſion. So little reckoning was made of the Popes thundering canons in thoſe dayes. And what would they

notable Decree of the Court vnder Charles 6.

Theodoric. Niemenſ. in nemore vnion. Tract. 6. & ſomnium viridarij.

haue done, if the ſaid Buls had imported ſentence of depoſitiõ againſt King Charles?

The French Church aſſembled at Tours in the yeare 1510. decreed, that Lewis XII. might with ſafe conſcience contemne *the abuſiue Bulls, and vniuſt cenſures of Pope Iulius the II.* and by armes might withſtand the Popes vſurpations, in caſe he ſhould proceed to excommunicate or depoſe the King. More; by a Council holden at Piſa, this Lewis declared the Pope to be fallen from the Popedome, and coyned crownes with a ſtampe of this inſcription, *I will deſtroy the name of Babylon.* To this the L. of Perron makes anſwer; that all this was done by the French, as acknowledging theſe iars to haue ſprung not from the fountaine of Religion, but from paſsion of ſtate. Wherein hee condemnes Pope Iulius, for giuing ſo great ſcope vnto his publike cenſures, as to ſerue his ambition, and not rather to aduance Religion. He ſecretly teacheth vs beſides, that when the Pope vndertakes to depoſe the King of France, then the French are to ſit as Iudges concerning the validitie or nul-

litie

litie of the cauſe; and in caſe they ſhall find the cauſe to be vnlawfull, then to diſanull his iudgements, and to ſcoffe at his thunderbolts.

Iohn d'Albret King of Nauarre, (whoſe Realme was giuen by the foreſaid Pope to Ferdinand King of Arragon) was alſo wrapped and entangled in ſtrict bands of depoſition. Now if the French had beene touched with no better feeling of affection to their King, then the ſubiects of Nauarre were to the Nauarrois; doubtleſſe France had ſought a new Lord, by vertue of the Popes (as the L. Cardinall himſelfe doth acknowledge and confeſſe) vniuſt ſentence. But behold, to make the ſaid ſentence againſt Iohn d'Albret ſeeme the leſſe contrarie to equitie; the L. Cardinall pretends, the Popes donation was not indeed the principall cauſe; howſoeuer Ferdinand himſelfe had gilded & enamild the matter ouer with ſuch pretence. But his Lordſhip giues this for the principall cauſe: that Iohn d'Albret had quitted his alliance made vnder this condition, that in caſe the Kings of Na- *Pag. 51.*

uarre

uarre ſhould infringe the ſaid alliance, and breake the league, then the Kingdome of Nauarre ſhould reuert and returne to the Crowne of Arragon. This condition (betweene the two Kings neuer made, and without all ſhew of probabilitie) ſerues to none other purpoſe from the Cardinalls mouth; but onely to inſinuate and worke a perſwaſion in his King, that hee hath no right nor lawfull pretenſion to the Crown of Nauarre: and whatſoeuer he now holds in the ſaid Kingdome of Nauarre, is no part of the French Kings free-hold, nor parcel of the demeaſnes belonging to the Crowne of France, but ſeized by vſurpation and vnlawfull poſſeſsion. Thus his Lordſhip French-borne, makes himſelfe an Aduocate for the Spaniſh King againſt his owne King, and King of the French: who ſhall bee faine, as he ought (if this Aduocats plea may take place) either to take downe the royall coat of France, with a barre for abatement of honour, or elſe to drawe his title and ſtyle of King of Nauarre out of his Royall titles, and to acknowledge that all the great en-

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deauours of his predeceſſors to recouer the ſaid Kingdome, were diſhonourable and vniuſt. Is it poſsible, that in the very heart and head Citie of France, a ſpirit & tongue ſo licentious can be brooked? What, ſhall ſo great blaſphemy (as it were) of the Kings freehold, be powred forth in ſo honourable an aſſembly, without puniſhment or fyne? what; without any contradiction for the Kings right, and on the Kings behalfe? I may perhaps confeſſe the indignitie might be the better borne, and the pretence alledged might paſſe for a poore excuſe, if it ſerued his purpoſe neuer ſo little. But how doth all this touch or come neere the queſtion? in which the Popes vſurpation in the depoſing of Kings, and the reſolution of the French in reſiſting this tyrannicall practiſe, is the proper iſſue of the cauſe: both which points are neuer a whit more of the leſſe conſequence and importance, howſoeuer Ferdinand in his owne iuſtification ſtood vpon the foreſaid pretence. Thus much is confeſſed, and we aske no more: Pope Iulius tooke the kingdome from the

one, and gaue it vnto the other: the French thereupon reſiſted the Pope, and declared him to be fallen from that Papacie.

This noble ſpirit and courage of the French, in maintaining the dignitie and honour of their Kings Crownes, bredde thoſe auncient cuſtomes, which in the ſequence of many ages haue bin obſerued and kept in vſe, inuiolable like the lawes of the Medes and Perſians. This for one: That no Legate of the Pope, nor any of his reſcripts nor mandates, are admitted and receiued in France, *without licence from the King:* and vnles the Legate impart his faculties to the Kings Atturney Generall, to be peruſed and verified in Court of Parlement: where they are to be tyed by certaine modifications and reſtrictions, vnto ſuch points and heads as are not derogatorie from the Kings right, from the liberties of the Gallicane Church, and from the ordinances of the Kingdom. When Cardinall Balva, (contrary to this ancient forme,) entred France in the yeare 1484. and there without leaue of the King did execute the Office, and ſpeed certaine Acts of

Pag. 26.

Niſi de conſenſu Regis Chriſtianiſſimi.

Bochellus.

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the Popes Legat; the Court vpon motion made by the Kings Atturney Generall, decreed a Commiſsion, to be informed againſt Balva by two Councellors of the ſaid Court, and inhibited his further proceeding to vſe any faculty or power of the Popes Legate, vpon paine of beeing proclaimed rebell.

In the yeare 1561. Iohannes Tanquerellus Batchelour in Diuinitie, by order of the Court was condemned to make open confeſsion, that hee had *indiſcreetly and raſhly without conſideration* defended this propoſition, *The Pope is the Vicar of Chriſt, a Monarke with full power both ſpirituall and ſecular; and he hath lawefull authoritie to depriue Princes, which rebel againſt his commandements, of their dignities.* Which propoſition, (howſoeuer Tanquerellus proteſted that he had propounded the ſame *onely to be argued, and not iuridically to be determined* for the affirmatiue,) Tanquerellus neuertheleſſe was compelled openly to recant. Here the L. Cardinall anſwers; The hiſtory of Tanquerellus is from the matter, becauſe his propoſition treats neither

Indiſcretè ac inconſideratè.

Doctrinaliter tantùm & non iuridicè.

ther of hereſie nor of infidelity: but I anſwer, the ſaid propoſition (by his Lordſhips fauour) treates of both: for as much as it makes mentiō of diſobedience to the Pope. For I ſuppoſe his Lordſh. will not deny, that whoſoeuer ſhall ſtand out in hereſie, contrary to the Popes monitory proceedings, he ſhall ſhew but poore and ſimple obedience to the Pope. Moreouer, the caſe is cleare by the former examples, that no Pope will ſuffer his power to caſt downe Kings, to bee reſtrained vnto the cauſe of hereſie and infidelitie, or to be meaſured by the perch and pole of thoſe crimes alone.

In the heate of the laſt warres, raiſed by that holy-prophane League, admonitory Buls were ſent by Pope Gregory 14. from Rome, Anno 1591. By theſe Bulls King Henry 4. as an heretike and relaps, was declared incapable of the Crowne of France, and his Kingdome was expoſed to hauock and ſpoile. The Court of Parlement then aſſembled at Tours the 5. of Auguſt, decreed the ſaid admonitorie Bulls to bee cancelled, torne in peices, and caſt into a

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great fire by the hand of the publike executioner. The Arreſt it ſelfe or Decree is of this tenour: *The Court duely pondering and approouing the concluding and vnanſwerable reaſons of the Kings Atturney Generall, hath declared, and by theſe preſent doth declare, the admonitorie Buls giuen at Rome the* 1. *of March* 1591. *to be of no validitie; to be abuſiue, ſeditious, damnable, full of impietie and impoſtures, contrarie to the holy decrees, rights, franchiſes, and liberties of the French Church: doth ordaine the Copies of the ſaid Bulls, ſealed with the ſeale of Marſilius Landrianus, and ſigned Septilius Lamprius, to be rent in peices by the publike executioner, and by him to be burnt in a great fire to bee made for ſuch purpoſe, before the great gates of the common Hall or Palace; &c.* Then euen then the L. of Perron ſtood firme and vnmooueable (like a coloſſe) for the better part; he vailiantly fought in the breach for his King againſt Gregorie the Pope, notwithſtanding the crime of hereſie pretended againſt Henrie his Lord.

All the former examples by vs alleadged, are drawne out of the times after Schooles of Diuinitie were eſtabliſhed in

France. For I thought good to bound my ſelfe within thoſe dooles & limits of time, which the L. Cardinall himſelfe hath ſet. Who goes nothing ſincerely to worke, and in faire ſort or faſhion, where he tells vs there be three inſtances (as if he had no more) obiected againſt Papall power, to remooue Kings out of their chaires of Eſtate: by name, the *example of Philip the Faire, of Lewis XII. and of Tanquerellus.* For in verie truth all the former examples by vs produced, are no leſſe pregnant and euident, howſoeuer the L. Cardinall hath beene pleaſed to ſmother and conceale them all for feare of hurting his cauſe.

Pag. 47.

Nay, France euen in the dayes of her ſoreſt ſeruitude, was neuer vnfurniſhed of great Diuines, by whom this vſurped power of the Pope, ouer the Temporalties and Crownes of Kings, hath been vtterly miſliked and condemned.

Robert Earle of Flanders was commanded by Pope Paſchall 2. to perſecute with fire and ſword the Clergie of Leige, who then adhered and ſtood to the cauſe of the

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Emperour Henrie 4. moſt ignominiouſly depoſed by the Pope. Robert by the Popes order and commaund, was to handle the Clergie of Leige in like ſort, and to ſerue them with ſuch ſauce as before he had ſerued the Clergie of Cambray; who by the ſaid Earle had been cruelly ſtript both of goods and life. The Pope promiſed the ſaid Earle and his armie pardon of their ſinnes for the ſaid execution. The Clergie of Leige addreſſed anſwer to the Pope at large. They cried out vpon the Church of Rome, and called her Babylon. Told the Pope home, that God hath commaunded to giue vnto Ceſar that which is Ceſars: that euery ſoule muſt be ſubiect vnto the ſuperiour powers: that no man is exempted or excepted from the binding power and vertue of this precept: and that euery oath of allegiance is to be kept inuiolable: yea, that hereof they themſelues were not ignorant; in as much as they by a new ſchiſme, and newe traditions, making a ſeparation and rent of the prieſthood from the Kingdome, did promiſe to abſolue of periurie, ſuch as haue perfidi-

fidiouſly forſwom themſelues againſt their King. And whereas by way of deſpight, and in opprobrious manner, they were excommunicated by the Pope, they gaue his Holineſſe to vnderſtand, that *Dauids heart vttered a good matter; but Paſchals heart had belched out of his mouth moſt ſordid and rayling words; like old baudes and ſpinſters or webſters of linnen, when they ſcold and brawle one with another.* Finally, they reiected his Papall excommunication, as a ſentence giuen without all the tearmes and limits of Paſtor-like diſcretion. This was the voice and free ſpeach of that Clergie, in the life time of their noble Emperour. But after he was thruſt out of the Empire by the rebellion of his owne ſonne, (inſtigated and ſtirred vp thereunto by the Popes perſwaſion and practiſe) and was brought vnto a miſerable death; it is no matter of wonder, that for the ſafegard of their life, the ſaid Clergie were driuen to ſue vnto the Pope for their pardon.

Bibliotheca Patrum. Tom. 3.

Hildebert Biſhop of Cænomanum vpon the riuer of Sartre, liuing vnder the raigne of King Philip the firſt, affirmes in his Epiſtles

ſtles 40. and 75. that *Kings are to be admoniſhed and inſtructed, not puniſhed: to bee dealt with by counſell, not by command, by doctrine and inſtruction, not by compulſion or correction. For no ſuch ſword belongs to the Church; becauſe the ſword of the Church is Eccleſiaſticall diſcipline, and nothing elſe.* Bernard writes to Pope Eugenius after this manner: *Whoſoeuer they bee that are of this mind and opinion, ſhall neuer be able to make proofe, that any one of the Apoſtles did euer ſit in qualitie of Iudge or Diuider of lands. I reade where they haue ſtood on their feete at barres and tribunalls to be iudged, but neuer where they ſate downe on the bench, and in the ſeate of Iuſtice to giue iudgement.* Againe, *Your authoritie ſtretches vnto crimes, not vnto poſſeſſions: becauſe you haue receiued the keies of the kingdome of heauen, not in regard of poſſeſſions, but of crimes; to keepe all that pleade by couin or colluſion, and not lawfull poſſeſſors, out of the heauenly kingdome.* A little after: *Theſe baſe things of the earth, are iudged by Kings and Princes of this world: wherefore do you thruſt your ſickle into an others harueſt? wherefore doe you incroach and intrude vpon an others limits?* Elſewhere. *The Apoſtles are directly forbid to make themſelues*

De conſider. lib. 1. cap. 6.

Lib. 2. cap. 6

Lords and rulers. Goe thou then, and beeing a Lord vſurpe Apoſtleſhip, or beeing an Apoſtle vſurpe Lordſhip. If thou needes wilt haue both together, doubtleſſe thou ſhalt haue neither of both.

Diſt. 24. quæſt. 3.

Iohannes Maior Doctor of Paris: *The Soueraigne Biſhop hath no temporall authoritie ouer Kings. The reaſon. Becauſe it followes (the contrary beeing once granted) that Kings are the Popes vaſſals.* Now let other men iudge, whether he that hath power to diſpoſſeſſe Kings of all their Temporalties, hath not in like manner powerfull and abſolute authority ouer their temporall ſtates.

Comment. in l. 4. Sent. Diſt. 24. fol. 214.

The ſame Author: *The Pope hath no manner of title ouer the French or Spaniſh Kings in temporall matters.* Where it is further added, That Pope Innocent 3. hath beene pleaſed to teſtifie, that Kings of France in Temporall cauſes doe acknowledge no ſuperiour. For ſo the Pope excuſed himſelfe to a certaine Lord of Montpellier, who inſtead of ſuing to the King, had petitioned to the Pope for a diſpenſation for his baſtard. *Here perhaps* (as he ſpeaks) *it will be alledged out of the gloſſe, that* Maior *acknowledgeth no ſuperiour*

in fact, and yet aught in right. But I tell you the glosse is an Aurelian glosse, which marres the text. Amongst other arguments, Maior brings this for one: *This opinion ministers matter vnto Popes, to take away anothers Empire by force and violence, which the Pope shall neuer bring to passe, as we reade of Boniface 8. against Philip the Faire.* Saith besides, *That from hence proceede warres, in time of which many outragious mischeifes are done; and that Gerson calls them egregious flatterers by whom such opinion is maintained.* In the same place Maior denies that Childeric was deposed by Pope Zacharie: *The word,* He deposed, saith Maior, *is not so to be vnderstood, as it is taken at the first blush or sight; but* he deposed, *is thus expounded in the glosse; Zachary gaue his consent vnto those by whom Childeric was deposed.*

Iohn of Paris: *Were it granted that Christ was armed with Temporall power; yet hee committed no such power to Peter.* A little after: *The power of Kings is the highest power vpon earth: in Temporall causes there is no superiour power to perch aboue Regall power; no more then there is any power to ouercome Papall power in spirituall causes.* *De potest. Regia & Papali. cap. 10.*

causes. This author saith indeede, the Pope hath power to excommunicate the King, and to worke him out of the Church; but hee speakes not of any power in the Pope to put downe the King, and to tumble him downe from his regall dignity and authority. He only saith; When a Prince is once excommunicated, he may accidentally, or by occasion be deposed: because his precedent excommunication, incites the people and heates in them some stomacke, to disarme him of all secular dignity and power. The same Iohn on the other side holds opinion; that *in the Emperour there is inuested a power to depose the Pope; in case the Pope shall abuse his power.*

Almain. de potest. Eccl. & Laica. quæst. 2. c. 8

Almainus Doctor of the Sorbonic schoole: *It is essentiall in the Laye-power to inflict ciuill punishment, as death, banishment, and priuation or losse of goods. But according to diuine institution, the power Ecclesiasticall can lay no such punishment vpon delinquents: nay more, not lay in prison; as to some Doctors it seemes very probable: but stretches and reaches onely to spirituall punishment, as namely to excommunication: all o-*

De dominio naturali ciuili & Eccl. 5. vlt. pars.

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ther punishments inflicted by the spirituall power, are meerely by the Lawe positiue. If then Ecclesiasticall power by Gods Lawe hath no authoritie to disease or depriue any priuate man of his goods; how dares the Pope (in all height of his Holinesse) with all his flatterers, build their power, to depriue Kings of their scepters, vpon the word of God?

The same author in an other place: *Be it graunted that Constantine had power to giue the Empire vnto the Pope; yet is it not hereupon to be inferred, that Popes haue authority ouer the Kingdome of France; because that Kingdome was neuer subiect vnto Constantine: and consequently, neuer in his Imperiall power to giue. For the King of Fraunce neuer had any superiour in Temporall matters.* A little after: *It is not in any authenticall record or monument to be found, that God hath giuen the Pope power to make and vnmake Temporall Kings.* *Quæst. 1. de potest Eccles. & laic. c. 12. & 14.*

He maintaines elsewhere, that Zacharie did not depose Childeric, but onely consented to his deposing; *and so deposed him not as by authoritie.* In the same booke, taking vp the words of Occam, whome he styles the *Quæst. 2. c. 8. & sic non deposuit autoritatiuè.*

Qua. 3. cc. 2. Quæſt. 11. can. Sacerd.

Doctor: *The Emperour is the Popes Lord in things Temporall; and the Pope calls him Lord, as it is witneſſed in the bodie of the Text.* The Lord Cardinall hath diſſembled and concealed theſe words of Doctor Almainus, with many like paſſages: and hath bin pleaſed to alleadge Almainus reciting Occams authoritie, inſtead of quoting Almainus himſelfe in thoſe paſſages, where he ſpeakes as out of his owne opinion, and in his owne words. A notable peice of ſlie and cunning conueiance. For what hereſie may not bee fathered and faſtened vpon S. Auguſtine, or S. Heirome; if they ſhould bee deemed to approoue all the paſſages which they alleadge out of other authors? And that is the reaſon wherefore the L. Cardinall doth not cite and produce his teſtimonies whole and perfect, as they are couched in their proper texts, but clipt and curtaild. Thus he deales euen in the firſt paſſage or teſtimonie of Almainus; he brings it in mangled and pared: he hides and conceales the words added by Almainus, to contradict & croſſe the words going before. For Almainus

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makes this addition and supply; *How soeuer some other Doctors doe stand for the negatiue, and teach the Pope hath power onely to declare that Kings and Princes are to bee deposed.* And so much appeares by this reason; because this intensiue, ample, and Soueraigne power of the Pope, might giue him occasion to bee puft vp with great pride; and the same fulnesse of power might prooue extreamely hurtfull to the subiects, &c.

The same Almainus brings in Occams opinion in expresse tearmes deciding the question; and there ioynes his owne opinion with Occams. *The Doctors opinion,* saith Almainus, *doth simply carrie the greatest probabilitie; that Popes haue no power, neither by excommunication, nor by any other meanes to depose a Prince from his Imperiall and Royall dignitie.* A little before, hauing maintained the Greeke Empire was neuer turned ouer by Papal donation or conueiance to the Germaines; and that when the Pope crownes the Emperour, he doth not giue him the Empire; no more then the Archbishop of Reims when he crownes the King of France, doth giue him

Quæst. 2. de potest. Eccl. & Laic. cap. 12.

In cap. 9. 10. & 11.

him the Kingdome, he drawes this conclusion according to Occams opinion: *I denie that an Emperour is bound by oath to promise the Pope allegiance. On the other side, if the Pope hold any Temporal possessions, he is bound to sweare allegiance vnto the Emperour, and to pay him tribute.* The said Occam alledged by Almainus doth further auerre, that Iustinian was recognized and acknowledged by the Pope for his superiour in Temporall causes: for as much as diuerse lawes, to the obseruation and keeping whereof the Pope stands yet bound, were enacted by Iustinian; as by name the law of prescription for an hundred yeares: which law stands yet in full strength, force, and vertue, against the Bishop of Rome. And to the ende that all men may clearely see, how great distance there is betweene Occams opinion, and the L. Cardinals, (who towards the ende of his Oration, exhorts his hearers at no hand to dissent from the Pope) take you here a view of Occams owne words, as they are alledged by Almainus: *The Doctor assoyles the arguments of Pope Innocent, by which the Pope would*

Quæst. 1. cap. 14.

proue

prooue out of theſe words of Chriſt, Whatſoeuer thou ſhalt bind, &c. *that fulnes of power in Temporall matters belongs to the Soueraigne Biſhop. For Innocent ſaith*, Whatſoeuer, *excepts nothing. But Occam aſſoyles Innocents authoritie, as not only falſe, but alſo hereticall; and ſaith withall, that many things are ſpoken by Innocent, which by his leaue haue ſome taint, ſauour, & ſmel of hereſie, &c.*

The L. Cardinall with leſſe fidelity alledgeth two places out of Thomas his Summe. The firſt, in the Second of his Second, Queſt. 10. Art. 10. in the bodie of the Article. In which place (let it be narrowly examined) Thomas will eaſily be found to ſpeake not concerning the ſubiection of beleeuing ſubiects vnder Infidel Kings, (as the Lord Cardinall pretends) but concerning beleeuing ſeruants that liue vnder Maſters whether Iewes or Infides. As when a Iew keepeth ſeruants which profeſſe Ieſus Chriſt; or as when ſome of the faithfull kept in Ceſars houſe: who are not conſidered by Thomas as they were ſubiects of the Empire; but as they were ſeruants of the family. The other place is taken out of *Pag. 40.*

Queſt. 11. and 2. art. in the body of the article: where no ſuch matter as the L. Cardinall alledgeth can be found.

Pag. 44. With like fidelitie he vndertakes Gerſon, ſometime Chancellor to the Vniuerſitie of Paris: who indeed in his booke of Eccleſiaſticall power, and 12. Conſider. doth affirme, *When the abuſe of ſecular power redounds to manifeſt impugning of the faith, and blaſphemy of the Creator, then ſhall it not bee amiſſe to haue recourſe vnto the laſt branch of this 12. Conſider. where, in ſuch caſe as aforeſaid, a certain regitiue, directiue, regulatiue, and ordinatiue authoritie is committed to the Eccleſiaſticall power.* His very words: which make no mention at all of depoſing, or of any compulſiue power ouer Soueraigne Princes. For that forme of rule and gouernement whereof Gerſon ſpeakes, is exerciſed by Eccleſiaſticall cenſures and excommunications: not by loſſe or depriuation of goods, of Kingdomes, or of Empires. This place then is wreſted by the L. Cardinall to a contrary ſenſe. Neither ſhould his Lordſhip haue omitted, that Gerſon, (in the queſtion of Kings ſubiection in Temporall

porall matters, or of the dependance of their Crownes vpon the Popes power,) excepts alwaies the Kings of France: witnesse that which Gerson a little before the place alleadged by the Cardinall hath affirmed in plaine and perspicuous tearmes. *Now since Peters time, saith Gerson, all Imperiall, Regall, and Secular power is not immediately to drawe vertue and strength from the Soueraigne Bishop: as in this manner the most Christian King of France hath no Superiour, nor acknowledgeth any such vpon the face of the earth.* Now here neede no great sharpenes of wit for the searching out of this deepe mysterie; that if the Pope hath power to giue or take away Crownes for any cause or any pretended occasion whatsoeuer, then the Crowne of France must needs depend vpon the Pope.

But for as much as wee are now hit in with Gerson, we will examine the L. Cardinals allegations towards the ende of his Oration, taken out of Gersons famous Oration made before Charles 6. for the Vniuersitie of Paris: where he brings in Gerson to affirme, *That killing a Tyrant is a sacrifice ac-*

Pag. 108. 109. 119. where the Card takes Char. 7 for Charl. 6.

ceptable to God. But Gerſon (let the paſſage be diligently noted) there ſpeakes not in his owne perſon: hee there brings in ſedition ſpeaking the ſaid words. Of which words vttered by ſedition, and other like ſpeeches, you ſhall now heare what iudgement Gerſon himſelfe hath giuen. *When ſedition had ſpoken with ſuch a furious voice, I turned away my face as if I had beene ſmitten with death; to ſhewe that I was not able to endure her madneſſe any longer.* And indeed when diſsimulation on the one ſide, and ſedition on the other, had ſuggeſted the deuiſes of two cõtrary extreams; Gerſon brings forth *Diſcretion* as a Iudge, keeping the meane betweene both extreames, and vttering thoſe words which the L. Cardinall alleadgeth againſt himſelfe. *If the head,* (ſaith *Gerſon*) *or ſome other member of the ciuill body, ſhould growe to ſo deſperate a paſſe, that it would gulpe and ſwallow downe the deadly poiſon of tyrannie; then euery member of the ſame bodie in his place, with all power poſſible for him to raiſe by expedient meanes, and ſuch as might preuent a greater inconuenience, ſhould ſet himſelfe againſt ſo madde a purpoſe, and ſo*

deadly

deadly practiſe: For if the head be greiued with ſome light paine, it is not fit for the hand to ſmite the head: no, that were but a fooliſh and a madde part. Nor is the hand forthwith to choppe off or ſeparate the head from the bodie, but rather to cure the head with good ſpeach and other meanes, like a skilfull and wiſe Phyſitian. Yea nothing would be more cruell or more voide of reaſon, then to ſeeke to ſtoppe the ſtrong and violent ſtreame of tyrannie by ſedition. Theſe words, me thinke, make very ſtrongly and expreſſely againſt butchering euen of Tyrannicall Kings. And whereas a little after the ſaid paſſage, he teacheth to expell Tyrannie; he hath not a word of expelling the Tyrant, but onely of breaking and ſhaking off the yoke of Tyrannie. Yet for all that, he would not haue the remedies for the repreſsing of Tyrannie, to be fetcht from the boſome or breſt of the Pope, who preſumes to degrade Kings, but from the meere abſtruſe and yet moderate wiſedome of *Philoſophers, Lawyers, Diuines, and perſonages of good conuerſation.* It appeares now by all that hath been ſaid before, that whereas Gerſon in the 7. Conſiderat. *a-*

gainſt Flatterers, doth affirme: *Whenſoeuer the Prince doth manifeſtly purſue and proſecute his naturall ſubiects; and ſhew himſelfe obſtinately bent with notorious iniuſtice, to vexe them of ſet purpoſe, and with full conſent, ſo farre as to the fact; then this rule and law of Nature doth take place,* It is lawfull to reſiſt and repell force by force; *and that ſentence of Seneca,* There is no ſacrifice more acceptable to God, then a Tyrant offred in ſacrifice; I ſay it appeares, the words, *Doth take place,* are ſo to be vnderſtood, as he ſpeaks in an other paſſage; to wit, they take place with or amongſt ſeditious perſons. Or elſe the words, *doth take place,* doe onely ſignifie, *is put in practiſe.* And ſo Gerſon there ſpeakes not as out of his owne iudgement.

His Lordſhip alſo ſhould not haue balked and left out Sigebertus, who with more reaſon might haue paſſed for French, then Thomas and Occam, whom hee puts vpon vs for French. Sigebertus in his Chronicle vpon the yeare 1088. ſpeaking of the Emperours depoſing by the Pope, hath words of this tenour: *This hereſie was not crept out of the ſ. ell in thoſe dayes; that his Prieſts,*

who

who hath ſaid to the King, Apoſtata, and makes an hypocrite to rule for the ſinnes of the people, ſhould teach the people they owe no ſubiection vnto wicked Kings, nor any allegiance at all, notwithſtanding they haue taken the oath of allegiance.

Now after the L. Card. hath courſed in this manner through the ſpacious fields of hiſtories concerning the laſt ages (which in caſe they all made for his purpoſe, do lacke the iuſt weight of authoritie) in ſtead of ſearching the will of God in the ſacred Oracles of his word, and ſtanding vpon examples of the auncient Church; at laſt leauing the troope of his owne allegations, he betakes himſelfe to the ſharpening and rebating of the points of his aduerſaries weapons.

For the purpoſe, he brings in his aduerſaries, the champions of Kings Crownes, and makes them to ſpeake out of his owne mouth (for his Lordſhip ſaith it will bee obiected) after this manner: *It may come to paſſe, that Popes either carried with paſſion, or miſled by ſiniſter information, may without iuſt cauſe faſten vpon Kings the imputation of hereſie or apoſtaſie.* " " " " *Pag. 52. & ſequentib.*

" ſtaſie. Then for King-depoſers he frames this
" anſwer: *That by hereſie, they vnderſtand notori-*
" *ous hereſie, and formerly condemned by ſentence of*
" *the Church. Moreouer, in caſe the Pope hath erred*
" *in fact, it is the Clergies part adhering to their King,*
" *to deale by remonſtrance with the Pope, and to in-*
" *ſiſt vpon petition, requiring the cauſe may be refer-*
" *red to the iudgement of a full Councill, the French*
" *Church then and there in preſence.* Now in this anſwer, the L. Cardinall is of another mind then Bellarmine his brother Cardinall. For Bellarmine goes thus farre: That a Prince condemned by vniuſt ſentence of the Pope, ought neuertheleſſe to quit his Kingdome; and that his Paſtors vniuſt ſentence ſhould not redound to his detriment; prouided that he guie way to the ſaid ſentence, and ſhew himſelfe not refractarie, but ſtay the time in patience, vntill the holy Father ſhall renounce his errour, and reuerſe or reuoke his foreſaid vniuſt ſentence. In which caſe theſe two materiall points are to bee preſuppoſed. The one, That he who now hath ſeized the Kingdome of the Prince diſplaced, will forthwith (if the Pope ſhall

ſoli-

cite and intercede) fairely and freely returne the Kingdome into the hand of the late poſſeſſor. The other, That in the interim the Prince vniuſtly depoſed, ſhall not neede to feare the bloodie murderers mercileſſe blade and weapon. But on the other ſide, the Popes power of ſo large a ſize, as Bellarmine hath ſhaped, is no whit pleaſing to the L. Cardinals eie. For in caſe the King ſhould be vniuſtly depoſed by the Pope *not well informed*, this L. Cardinal is not of the mind, the Kingdome ſhould ſtoope to the Popes beheſts; but will rather haue the Kingdome to deale by remonſtrance, and to referre the cauſe vnto the Council. Wherein hee makes the Council to bee of more abſolute and ſupreame authoritie then the Pope: a ſtraine to which the holy Father will neuer lend a fauourable eare. And yet doubtles, the Council required in this caſe muſt be vniuerſal; wherin the French, (for ſo much as they no doubt will ſtand firme for their King and his cauſe,) can be no Iudges: and in that regard the L. Cardinal requires onely the preſence of the French Church,

without any further hand or ſtroake in the Seſsions of the Council, but onely to tel the clocke. Who ſees not here into what pickle the French cauſe is brought by this meanes? The Biſhops of Italie forſooth, of Spaine, of Sicilie, of Germany, (ſubiects of Soueraignes many times at profeſſed or priuy enmitie with France,) ſhall haue the whole cauſe intirely compromitted and referred to their iudgement, whether the Kingdome of France ſhall driue out her Kings, and ſhall kindle the flames of ſeditious troubles, in the very heart and bowells of the Realme. In the meane, the French Clergie ſhall onely ſit downe to looke on, and to tell the clocke. But is it not poſsible, that a King may lacke the loue of his owne ſubiects, and they taking the vantage of that occaſion, may put him to his trumps in his owne kingdome? Is it not poſsible, that calumniations whereby a credulous Pope hath beene ſeduced, may in like manner deceiue ſome great part of a credulous people? Is it not poſsible, that one part of the people may cleaue to the Popes faction, an other

may

may hold and ſtand out for the Kings right-full cauſe, and ſo ciuill warres may be kind-led by the ſplene of theſe two ſides? Is it not poſsible, that his Holineſſe will not ſuffer his mouth to be ſtopt with remonſtrances of the French, and that he will yet further purſue his owne cauſe? And whereas now a dayes a Generall Councel cannot be held, except it bee called and aſſembled by the Popes authority; is it credible, the Pope will take order for the conuocation of a Coun-cil, by whom he ſhall be brought as it were to the barre, and there be ſentenced or iud-ged himſelfe? And how can the Pope bee Preſident in a Council, where himſelfe is the partie impleaded? and to whom the ſif-ting of his owne ſentence is referred, as it were to committies; to examine whether it be denounced according to Law, or a-gainſt Iuſtice? But in the meane time, whileſt all theſe remonſtrances and addreſſes of the Council are on foote; behold, the Royall Maieſty of the King hangs as it were by looſe gimmals; and muſt ſtay and waite for the iudgement of the Councel to whom it

is referred. Well: what if the Councill ſhould happe to be two or three yeares in aſſembling, and to continue or hold eighteene yeares, like the Council of Trent; ſhould not poore France, I beſeech you, be reduced to a very bad plight? ſhould ſhee not be in a very wiſe and warme taking? To be ſhort; His Lordſhips whole ſpeech for the vntying of this knot, not onely ſurmounts poſsibility, but is alſo ſtuft with ridiculous toyes. This I make manifeſt by his addition in the ſame paſſage: *If the Pope deceiued in fact, ſhall raſhly and vniuſtly declare the King to be an heretike; then the Popes declaration ſhall not be ſeconded with actuall depoſition, vnles the Realme ſhall conſent vnto the Kings depoſing.* What needes any man to bee inſtructed in this doctrine? Who doth not knowe, that a King, ſo long as he is vpheld and maintained in his Kingdome by his people, cannot actually and effectually bee depoſed from his Throne? Hee that ſpeakes in ſuch language and phraſe, in effect ſaith, and ſaith no more then this: A King is neuer depriued of his Crowne, ſo long as he can keep his Crowne

faſt

faſt on his head: a King is neuer turn'd and ſtript naked, ſo long as he can keepe his royall robes, or other Princely garments on his backe: a King is neuer depoſed, ſo long as he can make the ſtronger partie, & ſide againſt his enemies: in breife, a King is King, and ſhall ſtill raigne as King, ſo long as hee can hold the poſſeſsion of his Kingdome, and ſit faſt in his Chaire of Eſtate. Howbeit, let vs here by the way, take notice of theſe words vttered by his Lordſhip: *That for the depoſing of a King, the conſent of the people muſt bee obtained:* For by theſe words the people are exalted aboue the King, and are made the Iudges of the Kings depoſing.

But here is yet a matter of greater conſequence. For that Popes may erre in faith, it is acknowledged by Popes themſelues: For ſome of them haue condemned Pope Honorius for a Monothelite: S. Hierome, and S. Hilarius, and S. Athanaſius doe teſtifie, that Pope Liberius ſtarted aſide, and ſubſcribed to Arrianiſme: Pope Iohn 23. was condemned in the Councill of Conſtance, for maintaining there is neither hel nor heauen.

Can. Si Papa, Diſt. 40. Niſi ſit à fide deuius.

Diuerſe other Popes haue bin tainted with error in faith. If therefore any Pope hereticall in himſelfe, ſhall depoſe an Orthodoxe King for hereſie; can it be imagined, that he which boaſts himſelfe to beare all diuine and humane lawes in the priuy coffer or caſket of his breaſt, will ſtoope to the remonſtrances of the French, and vaile to the reaſons which they ſhall propound, though neuer ſo iuſtifiable, and of neuer ſo great validitie? And how can he, that may be infected with damnable hereſie, (when himſelfe is not alwaies free from hereſie,) bee a iudge of hereſie in a King? In this queſtion ſome are of opinion, that as a man, the Pope may fall into errour, but not as Pope. Very good: I demaund then vpon the matter, wherefore the Pope doth not inſtruct and reforme the man? or wherefore the man doth not require the Popes inſtructions? But whether a King be depoſed by that man the Pope, or by that Pope the man, is it not all one? is he not depoſed? Others affirme, the Pope may erre in the fact, but not in the right. An egregious gullerie and impoſture.

Omnia iura in ſcrinio pectoris.

For

For if his Holineſſe may be ignorant whether Ieſus Chriſt *de facto* died for our ſinnes; doubtleſſe he may alſo be to ſeeke, whether *de iure* we are to repoſe all our truſt and aſſured confidence in the death of Chriſt. Conſider with me the Prophets of olde: they were all inſpired and taught of God, to admoniſh and reprooue the Kings of Iudah and Iſrael: they neither erred in matter of fact, nor in point of right: they were as farre from beeing blinded and fetcht ouer by deceitfull calumniations, as from beeing ſeduced by the painted ſhew of corrupt and falſe doctrine. As they neuer trode awry in matter of faith; ſo they neuer whetted the edge of their tongue or ſtyle againſt ſuch as were without fault and blame. Had it not been a trimme deuice in their times, to ſay, that as Eſay and as Daniel they might haue ſunke into hereſie, but not as Prophets? For doubtles in this caſe, that Eſay would haue taken counſell of that Prophet which was himſelfe. To bee ſhort, If Kings are onely ſo long to be taken for Kings, vntill they ſhall be declared heretikes, and ſhall be de-

poſed

poſed by the Pope; they continually ſtand in extreame danger, to vndergoe a very heauy and vniuſt ſentence. Their ſafeſt way were to know nothing, and to beleeue by proxie; leaſt, if they ſhould happen to talke of God, or to thinke of religion, they ſhould be drawne for heretikes into the Popes Inquiſition.

All the examples hitherto produced by the L. Cardinall on a rowe, are of a latter date; they lacke weight; are drawne from the time of bondage; and make the Popes themſelues witneſſes in their owne cauſe. They deſcant not vpon the point of Depoſition, but onely ſtrike out and ſound the notes of Excommunication and Interdiction, which make nothing at all to the muſicke or plaine-ſong of the queſtion. And therefore he tells vs (in kindneſſe as I take it) more oftentimes then once or twice, that he ſpeakes onely of the fact; as one that doth acknowledge himſelfe to bee out of the right. Hee relates things done, but neuer what ſhould be done: which, as the Iudicious know, is to teach nothing.

The ſecond Inconuenience examined.

THE ſecond Inconuenience like to growe, (as the L. Cardinal ſeemes to be halfe afraid) if the Article of the third Eſtate might haue paſſed with approbation in both houſes, is couched in theſe words: *Lay-men ſhall by authoritie bee ſtrengthened with power, to ſit Iudges in matters of Religion; as alſo to determine the doctrine compriſed in the ſaid Article to haue requiſite conformitie with Gods word: yea they ſhall haue it in their hands to compell Eccleſiaſtics by neceſſitie, to ſweare, preach, and teach the opinion of the one ſide, as alſo by Sermons and publike writings to impugne the other.* This inconuenience he aggrauates with ſwelling words, and breaks out into theſe vehement exclamations: *O reproach, O ſcandall, O gate ſet open to a world of hereſies.* He therefore labours both by reaſons, and by authorities of holy Scripture, to make ſuch vſurped power of Laics, a fowle, ſhamefull, and odious practiſe. In the whole, his Lordſhip toyles himſelfe in vaine, frames apparitions of I

Pag. 86.

wot not what buggs or ſpirits, and makes idle ſuppoſitions of caſtles in the aire. For in preferring this Article, the third Eſtate haue not borne themſelues as Iudges or vmpires, but altogether as humble petitioners: requeſting the ſaid Article might hold ranke in the number of the Parliament rolls or bookes, to bee preſented vnto the King and his Counſell, vnto whome in all humility they referred the ſaid Article to come vnder iudgement; conceiuing all good hope the Clergie and Nobility would be pleaſed to ioyne for the furtherance of their humble petition. They were no ſuch rawe Nouices and ignorants in State-matters, or ſo vnmindfull of their owne places and charges; to beare themſelues in hand, that a petition put vp and preferred by the third Eſtate, can carry the force of a Lawe or Statute, ſo long as the other two Orders oppoſe the ſame; and ſo long as the King himſelfe holds back his *Le Roy le veult*, or his Royall aſſent. Beſides, the ſaid Article was not propounded as a point of a religious doctrine; but for euer after to remaine and continue a funda-

mentall

mentall Lawe of the Commonwealth and State it ſelfe; the due care whereof was put into their hands, and committed to their truſt. If the King had ratified the ſaid Article with Royall aſſent, and had commaunded the Clergy to put in execution the contents thereof; it had beene their duty to ſee the Kings will and pleaſure fulfilled and accompliſhed; as they are ſubiects bound to giue him aide in all things, which may any way ſerue to procure and worke the ſafety of his life, and the tranquility of his Kingdome. Which if the Clergie had performed to the vttermoſt of their deuoir and power; they had not ſhewed obedience (as vnderlings) vnto the third Eſtate, but vnto the King alone: by whome ſuch commaund had beene impoſed vpon the ſuggeſtion of his faithfull ſubiects, made the more watchfull by the negligence of the Clergy; whom they well vnderſtand and perceiue to be linked with ſtricter bands vnto the Pope, then they are vnto their King. Here then the Cardinall fights with meere ſhadowes, and mooues a doubt whereof his

aduerſaries haue not ſo much as once thought in a dreame. But yet, (according to his great dexteritie and nimbleneſſe of ſpirit,) by this deuice hee cunningly takes vpon him with more libertie to giue the King himſelfe a better leſſon: making ſemblance to direct his masked Oration to the Deputies of the people, when hee aimes in effect, and pricks at his King himſelfe; the Princes alſo and Lords of his Counſell, whom the Cardinall compriſeth vnder the name of Laics; whoſe iudgement (it is not vnlike) was apprehended much better by the Clergy, then the iudgment of the third Eſtate. Now theſe are the men whom he tearms intruders into other mens charges, and ſuch as open a gate for I wot not how many legions of hereſies, to ruſh into the Church. For if it be proper to the Clergy and their Head, to iudge in this cauſe of the Right of Kings; then the King himſelfe, his Princes, and Nobility, are debarred and wiped or wreſted out of all iudgement in the ſame cauſe, no leſſe then the repreſentatiue body of the people.

Well

Well then, the L. Cardinall ſhowres downe (like haile) ſundry places and teſtimonies of Scripture; where the people are commaunded to haue their Paſtors in ſingular loue, and to beare them all reſpects of due obſeruance. Be it ſo; yet are the ſaid paſſages of Scripture no barre to the people, in point of their vigilant circumſpection, to preſerue the life and Crown of their Prince, againſt all the wicked enterpriſes of men ſtirred vp by the Clergie; who haue their Head out of the Kingdom, and hold themſelues to bee none of the Kings loyall and foyall ſubiects: a thing neuer vttered with tongue, nor yet (I thinke) conceiued in thought by the ſacrificing Preiſts and Prelates, mentioned in the paſſages alleadged by the L. Cardinall himſelfe. Hee likewiſe produceth two Chriſtian Emperours, Conſtantine and Valentinian by name; the firſt refuſing to meddle with iudgment in Epiſcopall cauſes: the other forbearing to iudge of ſubtile Queſtions in Diuinitie: with proteſtation, that *Hee would neuer be ſo curious, to diue into the ſtreames, or to ſound the bottome of ſo*

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deepe matters. But who doth not knowe, that working and prouiding for the Kings indemnity and ſafetie, is neither Epiſcopall cauſe, nor matter of curious and ſubtile inquiſition? The ſame anſwer meetes with all the reſt of the places produced by the L. Cardinall out of the Fathers. And that one for example, out of Gregory Nazianzenus, is not cited by the Cardinall with faire dealing. For Gregorie doth not boord the Emperour himſelfe, but his Deputie or L. Preſident, on this manner: *For wee alſo are in authoritie and place of a Ruler; we haue the right and power of rule or commaund aſwell as your ſelfe:* whereas the L. Cardinall with fowle play, turnes the place in theſe tearmes, *We alſo are Emperours.* But Gregories words can beare no ſuch interpretation, as well becauſe the perſonage to whom the Biſhop then ſpake, was not of Imperiall dignitie; as alſo becauſe if the Biſhop himſelfe, a Biſhop of ſo ſmall a citie as Nazianzum, had qualified himſelfe Emperour, he ſhould haue paſſed all the bounds of modeſtie, and had prooued himſelfe arrogant aboue meaſure. For

Orat ad ciues timore perculſos.

ἄρχομεν γὰρ ἡμεῖς καὶ αὐτοί.

as

as touching ſubiection due to Chriſtian Emperours, he freely acknowledgeth a little before, *that himſelfe and his people are ſubiect vnto the Superiour powers, yea bound to pay them tribute.* The hiſtorie of the ſame Gregories life doth teſtifie, that he was drawn by the Arrians before the Conſuls iudgement ſeat, and from thence returned vntainted and acquitted, without either ſtripes, or any other kind of contumelious entreatie and vſe: yet now at laſt vp ſtarts a Prelate, who dares make this good Father vaunt himſelfe to ſit in the throne of Imperiall dignitie. It is willingly granted; that Emperours neuer challenged, neuer arrogated, to be Soueraigne Iudges in controuerſies of doctrine and faith; neuertheles it is clearer then the Sunnes light at high noone, that for moderations at Synods, for determinations and orders eſtabliſhed in Councils, and for the diſcipline of the Church, they haue made a good, lawfull, and full vſe of their Imperiall authoritie. The 1. Council held at Conſtantinople, beares this title or inſcription; *The dedication of the holy Synode to the moſt religious*

ὑποτελεῖς φόρου.

Vide Canones Græces à Tilio editos.

gious Emperour Theodosius the Great; to whose good will and pleasure they haue submitted these Canons by them addressed and established in Councill. There they also beseech the Emperour, to confirme and approoue the said Canons. The like hath been done by the Council of Trullo, by whome the Canons of the fift and sixt Councils were put forth and published. This was not done, because Emperours tooke vpon them to be infallible Iudges of doctrine; but onely that Emperours might see & iudge, whether Bishops (who feele the pricke of ambition as other men doe) did propound nothing in their Conuocations and Consultations, but most of all in their Determinations, to vndermine the Emperours authoritie, to disturbe the tranquilitie of the Commonwealth, and to crosse the determinations of precedent Councils. Now to take the cognizance of such matters out of the Kings hand or power; what is it but euen to transforme the King into a plaine statue of stone, or into a standing image; to wring and wrest him out of all care concerning the securitie of

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his Royall perſon, and his Kingly charge, yea to bring him downe to this baſeſt condition, euen to become onely an executioner, and (which I ſcorne to ſpeake) the vnhappie hangman of the Clergies will; without any further cognizance, not ſo much as of matters which moſt neerely touch himſelfe, and his Royall eſtate to the quicke?

I graunt it is for Diuinitie Schooles, to iudge how farre the power of the Keyes doth ſtretch. I graunt againe, that Clerics both may, and ought alſo to diſplay the colours and enſignes of their cenſures againſt Princes, who violating their publike and ſolemne oath, doe raiſe and make open war againſt Ieſus Chriſt. I graunt yet againe, that in this caſe they need not admit Laics to be of their counſell, nor allow them any ſcope or libertie of iudgement. Yet all this giues Clerics no ſcope nor libertie to extend the power of their keies, many times a whole degree beyond their Equinoctiall, I meane a degree further then they ought, and when they are pleaſed to make vſe of their ſaid

power, to depriue the people of their goods, or the Prince of his Crowne. All this doth not hinder Prince or people from taking care for the preſeruation of their own rights and eſtates; nor from requiring Clerics to ſhew their cards, to produce their Charts, and to make demonſtration by Scripture, that ſuch power as they aſſume and challenge, is giuen them from God. For to leaue the Pope abſolute Iudge in the ſame cauſe wherein he is a party, and (which is the ſtrongeſt rampier and bulwarke, yea the moſt glorious and eminent point of his domination) to arme him with power to vnhorſe Kings out of their ſeates; what is it els but euen to draw Kings and mighty States into a ſtate of deſpaire, for euer winning the day, or preuailing in their honourable and rightfull cauſe?

It is moreouer graunted, if a King ſhall commaund any thing directly contrarie to Gods word, and tending to the ſubuerting of the Church; that Clerics in this caſe ought not onely to diſpenſe with ſubiects for their obedience, but alſo expreſſely to

ſtoppe

ſtoppe them in the courſe of obedience by Canonicall prohibition. For it is alwaies better to obey God then man. Howbeit in all other actions and affaires of Soueraigne Princes or States, whereby the glorie and maieſtie of God is not impeached or impaired, it is the duty of Clerics to plie the people with wholeſome exhortation vnto conſtant obedience, and to auert by earneſt diſſwaſions the ſaid people from tumultuous reuolt and ſeditious inſurrection. This practiſe vnder the Pagan Emperours, was held and followed by the auncient Chriſtians, by whoſe godly zeale and patience in bearing the yoke, the Church in times paſt grew and flouriſhed in happineſſe, in plentifull encreaſe and enlargement, farre greater then Popery ſhall euer purchaſe and attaine vnto by all her cunning deuiſes and ſleights: as namely by degrading of Kings, by interdicting of Kingdomes, by appoſted murders, and by Diabolical traines of Gunpowder mines.

The places of Scripture alleadged in order by the Cardinall, in fauour of thoſe that *Pag.66.*

ſtand for the Popes claime of power and authoritie to depoſe Kings, are cited with no more ſinceritie then the former. *They al-*
" *leadge* (theſe are his words) *that Samuel depo-*
" *ſed King Saul, or declared him to bee depoſed; be-*
" *cauſe hee had violated the lawes of the Iewes reli-*
" *gion.* His Lordſhip auoucheth elſwhere, that Saul was depoſed, becauſe hee had ſought prophanely to vſurpe the holy Prieſthood. Both falſe, and contrarie to the tenor of truth in the file of ſacred hiſtorie. For Saul was neuer depoſed, according to the ſenſe of the word (I meane, *depoſe*) in the preſent queſtion: to wit, as depoſing is taken for actuall deſpoyling the King of his Royall dignitie, and reducing the King to the condition of a priuate perſon: But Saul held the title of King, and continued in poſſeſsion of his Kingdome, euen to his dying day. Yea, the Scripture ſtyles him King, euen to the periodical and laſt day of his life, by the teſtimony of Dauid himſelfe, who both by Gods promiſe, and by precedent vnction, was then heire apparant as it were to the Crowne, in a manner then readie to gird

1. *Sam.* 23. 20. & 24. 15. & 2. *Sam.* 2. 5.

and

and adorne the temples of his head. For if Samuel, by Gods commaundement, had then actually remooued Saul from his Throne; doubtles the whole Church of Israel had committed a grosse error, in taking and honouring Saul for their King after such deposition: doubtlesse the Prophet Samuel himselfe, making known the Lords ordinance vnto the people, would haue enioyned them by strict prohibition, to repute and call him no longer the King of Israel: doubtles Dauid would neuer haue held his hand from the throate of Saul, for this respect and consideration, because he was the Lords annointed. For if Saul had lost his Kingly authority, from that instant when Samuel gaue him knowledge from Gods mouth of his reiection; then Dauid, least otherwise the body of the Kingdom should want a Royall Head, was to beginne his Raigne, and to beare the Royall Scepter in the very same instant: which were to charge the holy Scriptures with vntruth; in as much as the sacred history beginnes the computation of the yeares of Dauids raign,

1. Sam. 26. 11.

from the day and instant of Sauls death, but not before. Truth it is, that in the 2. Sam. cap. 15. Saul was denounced (by Gods owne sentence) a man reiected, and as it were excommunicated out of the Kingdome, that he should not rule and raigne any longer as King ouer Israel; neuertheleſſe the said sentence of God was not put in execution, before the day when God, executing vpon Saul an exemplary iudgement, did strike him with death. From whence it is manifest and cleare, that when Dauid was annointed King by Samuel, that first action and vnction was onely a promise, and a testimony of the choice, which God had made of Dauid for succession immediately after Saul; and not a present establishment, inuestment, or instalment of Dauid in the Kingdome. Wee read the like in 1. King. cap. 19. where Gods commaunds Elias the Prophet, to annoint Hasael King of Syria. For can any man be so blind and ignorant in the sacred History, to beleeue the Prophets of Israel established, or sacred the Kings of Syria? For this cause, when Da-

1. Sam. 16. 13.

uid

uid was actually eſtabliſhed in the Kingdome, he was annointed the ſecond time. 2. *Sam.* 2. 4.

In the next place the L. Cardinall brings in the Popes champions vſing theſe words; *Rehoboam was depoſed by Ahiah the Prophet, from his Royall right ouer the tenne Tribes of Iſrael; becauſe his father Salomon had played the Apoſtata, in falling from the Lawe of God.* This I ſay alſo, is more then the truth of the ſacred hiſtory doth affoard. For Ahiah neuer ſpake to Rehoboam (for ought we reade,) nor brought vnto him any meſſage at all from the Lord. As for the paſſage quoted by the L. Cardinall out of Reg. 3. chap. 11. it hath not reference to the time of Rehoboams raigne, but rather indeed to the dayes and rule of King Salomon: nor doth it carry the face of a iudicatory ſentence for the Kings depoſing, but rather of a Propheticall prediction. For how could Rehoboam, before he was ſacred and crowned King, bee depriued of the Kingdome? Laſt of all, but worſt of all; to alleadge this paſſage for an example of a iuſt ſentence in matter of depoſing a King, is to approoue the diſloyall treache- 1. *Kin.* 12. " " " "

treachery of a ſeruant againſt his maſter, and the rebellion of Ieroboam branded in Scripture with a marke of perpetuall infamy for his wickedneſſe and impiety.

1. King. 19. He goes on with an other example of no more truth: *King Achab was depoſed by Elias the Prophet, becauſe he imbraced falſe religion, and worſhipped falſe gods.* Falſe too like the former; King Achab loſt his Crowne and his life both together. The Scripture, (that ſpeakes not according to mans fancy, but according to the truth) extends and numbers the yeares of Achabs raigne, to the time of his death, or full period of his life. Predictions of a Kings ruine, are no ſentences of depoſition. Elias neuer gaue the ſubiects of Achab abſolution from their oath of obedience; neuer gaue them the leaſt inckling of any ſuch abſolution; neuer ſet vp, or placed any other King in Achabs Throne.

Pag. 68. That of the L. Cardinall a little after, is no leſſe vntrue: *That King Vzziah was driuen from the conuerſation of the people by Azarias the Preiſt; and thereby the adminiſtration of the Kingdome was left no longer in his power.* Not ſo:

For

For when God had ſmitten Vzziah with leproſie in his forehead, Vzziah of his own voluntarie mind and meere motion withdrew, and as it were ſequeſtred himſelfe, or went out into an houſe apart, for feare of infecting the whole, the ſound, and the cleane by his contagious diſeaſe. The high Prieſt ſmote him not with any ſentence of depoſition, or denounced him ſuſpended from the adminiſtration of his Kingdome. No: the dayes of his raigne are numbred in Scripture, to the day of his death. And whereas the Preiſt, according to the Lawe in the 13. of Leuit. iudged the King to be vncleane, therein he gaue ſentence againſt Vzziah, not as againſt a criminall perſon, and thereby within the compaſſe of depoſition, but as againſt a diſeaſed body. For the Lawe inflicteth puniſhments, not vpon diſeaſes, but vpon crimes. Hereupon, whereas it is recorded by Ioſephus in his Antiquities, that Vzziah lead a priuate, and in a manner, a ſolitary life, the ſaid author doth not meane, that Vzziah was depoſed, but onely that he diſturbened himſelfe of care

2. *Chron.* 26

Antiq. l. 9. *cap.* 11.

to mannage the publike affaires.

Pag.69. The example of Mattathias, by whome the Iewes were ſtirred vp to rebell againſt Antiochus, is no better worth. For in that example we finde no ſentence of depoſition, but onely a kind of heartning and giuing an edge to the people then greiuouſly afflicted and oppreſſed. He that makes himſelfe the ring-leader of conſpiracie againſt a King, doth not forthwith aſſume the perſon, or take vp the office and charge of a Iudge, in forme of lawe and iuridically to depriue a King of his Regal rights, and Royall prerogatiues. Mattathias was cheife of that rebellion or conſpiracy, not in quality of Preiſt, but of cheiftaine, or leader in war, and a man the beſt qualified of all the people. Things acted by the ſuddaine violence and headlong commotion of the baſe vulgar, muſt not ſtand for lawes, nor yet for proofes and arguments of ordinary power; ſuch as the Pope challenges to himſelfe, and appropriates to his triple-Crowne.

Pag.67. Theſe bee our ſolide anſwers: we diſclaime the light armour which the L. Car-

dinall

dinall is pleaſed to furniſh vs withall; forſooth belike to recreate himſelfe, in rebating the points of ſuch weapons, as he hath vouchſafed to put into our hands. Now it will be worth our labour to beate by his thruſts, fetcht from the ordinary miſsion of the new Teſtament, from leproſie, ſtones, and locks of wooll. A leach no doubt of admirable skill; not one of theſe Mountibanks and Quackſaluers, but a great maſter in the Chymicks, who for ſubiecting the Crownes of Kings vnto the Pope, is able to extract arguments out of ſtones; yea, out of the leproſie, and the dry ſcab; onely forſooth becauſe hereſie is a kind of leproſie, and becauſe an heretike hath ſome affinity with a leper. But may not his double *Quoniam*, be as fitly applied to any other contagious and inueterate vice of the minde beſide hereſie? His warning-peice therefore is diſcharged to purpoſe, whereby he notifies that he pretends to handle nothing with reſolution. For indeed vpon ſo weake arguments, a reſolution is nothing workemanlike, but botcher-like, ill-fauouredly and *Pag. 66.*

weakely grounded.

Pag.69. His Lord. bulwarks thus beaten downe, let vs now viewe the ſtrength of our owne. Firſt, he makes vs to fortifie on this manner: "*They that beare vp for the negatiue, doe alleadge the authoritie of S. Paul; Let euery ſoule be ſubiect vnto the higher powers: For whoſoeuer reſiſts the power, reſiſts the ordinance of God. And likewiſe that of S. Peter; Submit your ſelues, whether it bee vnto the King, as vnto the ſuperiour, or vnto gouernours, &c. Vpon theſe paſſages, and the like, they inferre; that obedience is due to Kings by the Lawe of God, and not diſpenſable by any ſpirituall or temporall authoritie.* Thus he brings vs in with our firſt weapon. But here the very cheife ſinew and ſtrength of our argument, he doth wittingly balke, and of purpoſe conceale. To wit, That all the Emperours of whom the ſaid holy Apoſtles haue made any mention in their diuine Epiſtles, were profeſſed enemies to Chriſt, Pagans, Infidels, dreadfull, and moſt inſupportable bloody Tyrants: to whome notwithſtanding *euery ſoule*, and therefore the Biſhop of Rome for one, is

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commaunded to ſubmit his necke, and to profeſſe ſubiection. Thus much Chryſoſtome hath expreſſely taught in his Hom. 23. vpon the Epiſtle to the Romanes; *The Apoſtle giues this commaundement vnto all: euen to Prieſts alſo, and cloiſtered Monkes, not onely to ſeculars: bee thou an Apoſtle, an Euangeliſt, a Prophet, &c.* Beſides, it is here worthy to bee noted; that howſoeuer the Apoſtles rule is generall, and therefore bindes all the faithfull in equall bands; yet is it particularly, directly, and of purpoſe addreſſed to the Church of Rome by S. Paul; as by one who in the ſpirit of an Apoſtle did foreſee, that profeſt rebellion againſt Princes was to riſe and ſpring from the citie of Rome. Now in caſe the Head of that Church by warrant of any priuiledge, contained in the moſt holy Regiſter of Gods holy word, is exempted from the binding power of this generall precept or rule; did it not become his Lordſhip to ſhew by the booke, that it is a booke caſe, and to lay it forth before that honourable aſſembly, who no doubt expected and waited to heare when ſome Euan-

gelicall and Apoſtolicall proofes for ſuch exemption might droppe and fall from his learned lips? But in ſtead of any ſuch authenticall and canonicall confirmation, he flyes to a ſleight ſhift; and with a feeble cauill is bold to affirme the foundation laid by thoſe of our ſide, doth no way touch the knot of the controuerſie. Let vs heare him ſpeake: " *It is not in controuerſie, whether obedience bee due* " *to Kings by Gods Lawe, ſo long as they are Kings,* " *or acknowledged for Kings: but our point contro-* " *uerted, is whether by Gods Lawe it bee required,* " *that he who hath beene once recognized and recei-* " *ued for King by the bodie of the Eſtates, can at a-* " *ny time be taken and reputed as no King; that is to* " *ſay, can doe no manner of act whereby he may looſe* " *his right, and ſo ceaſe to be ſaluted King.* This anſwer of the L. Cardinal is the rare deuiſe, euaſion, and ſtarting hole of the Ieſuites. In whoſe eares of delicate and tender touch, King-killing ſounds very harſh: but forſooth to vn-king a King firſt, and then to giue him the ſtabbe, that is a point of iuſt and true deſcant. For to kill a King, once exauthoriſed and vnking'd by depoſition, is

not killing of a King. For the preſent I hold one of that Ieſuiticall Order in priſon, who hath face enough to ſpeake this language of Aſhdod, and to maintaine this doctrine of the Ieſuites Colledges. The L. Cardinal harps vpon the ſame ſtring. He can like ſubiection and obedience to the King, ſo long as he ſits King: but his Holineſſe muſt haue all power, and giue order withall, to hoiſt the King out of his Royall ſeate. I therefore now anſwer, that in very deed the former paſſages of S. Paul and S. Peter ſhould come nothing neere the queſtion, if the ſtate of the queſtion were ſuch as his Lordſh. brings it forth, framed and forged in his owne ſhop. But certes the ſtate of the queſtion is not, whether a King may doe ſome act, by reaſon whereof he may fall from his right, or may not any longer bee acknowledged for King. For all our contention is, concerning the Popes power to vn-authorize Princes; whereas in the queſtion framed and fitted by the L. Cardinal, not a word of the Pope. For were it graunted and agreed on both ſides, that a King by election might

fall

fall from his Kingdome; yet ſtill the knot of the queſtion would hold, whether hee can be diſpoſſeſſed of his Regall authoritie, by any power in the Pope; and whether the Pope hath ſuch fulneſſe of power, to ſtrip a King of thoſe Royall robes, rights, and reuenewes of the Crowne, which were neuer giuen him by the Pope; as alſo by what authoritie of holy Scripture, the Pope is able to beare out himſelfe in this power, and to make it good.

Pag. 71. But here the L. Cardinall ſtoutly ſaith in his owne defence by way of reioynder; *As one text hath, Let euery ſoule be ſubiect vnto the higher powers; in like manner an other text hath, Obey your Prelates, and be ſubiect vnto you Paſtors: for they watch ouer your ſoules, as men that ſhall giue an accompt for your ſoules.* This reaſon is voide of reaſon, and makes againſt himſelfe. For may not Prelates be obeyed and honoured, without Kings be depoſed? If Prelates preach the doctrine of the Goſpell, wil they in the pulpit haue the cõſcience or the face to ſtirre vp ſubiects to rebell againſt Kings? Moreouer, whereas the vniuerſall

Church

Church in theſe daies is diuided into ſo many diſcrepant parts, that now Prelates neither doe nor can draw all one way; is it not exceeding hard, (keeping our obedience towards God) to honour them all at once with due obedience? Nay; is it not here offred vnto me a dart or iaueline out of the L. Cardinals armory, to fling and let flie at his owne face or throate? For as God chargeth all men with obedience to Kings; and yet from that commaundement of God, the Lord Cardinal would be loath to haue it inferred, that Kings haue power to degrade Eccleſiaſticall Prelates: euen ſo God giues charge to obey Prelates; yet we deny it followes from hence, that Prelates haue power to depoſe Kings. Theſe two degrees of obedience agree well together, and are each of them bounded with peculiar and proper limits.

But for ſo much as in this point, we haue on our ſide the whole auncient Church, (which, albeit ſhe liued and groned for many ages together vnder heathen Emperours, heretikes, and perſecuters, did neuer ſo much

as whiſper a word about rebelling and falling from her Soueraigne Lords, and was neuer by any mortall creature freed from the oath of allegiance to her ſaid Emperours:) the Cardinall is not vnwilling to graunt, that auncient Chriſtians in thoſe times were bound to performe ſuch fidelity and allegiance; for as much as the Church (for ſhame he durſt not ſay the Pope) then had not abſolued them of their oath. No doubt a pleaſant dreame, or a merry conceit rather, to imagine the Biſhop of Rome was armed with power to take away the Empire of the world from Nero, or Claudius, or Domitianus; to whom it was not knowne, whether the citie of Rome had any ſuch Biſhop inueſted with ſuper-Pontificall power to tumble downe their Soueraigne Lords from their Imperiall thrones. Is it not a maſter-ieſt, of a ſtraine moſt ridiculous, to preſuppoſe the Grand-maſters and abſolute Lords of the whole world, had a ſent ſo dull, that they were not able to ſmell out, and to noſe things vnder their owne noſes? that they ſaw ſo little with

other

other mens eies and their owne: that within their capitall citie, they could not ſpie that Soueraigne armed with ordinary and lawfull authority to degrade, and to turne them out of their renowned Empire? Doubtleſſe the ſaid Emperours, (vaſſals belike of the Popes Empire) are to be held excuſed for not acknowledging and honouring the Pope in quality of their Lord, as became his vaſſals; becauſe they did not know there was any ſuch power in the world, as after-times haue magnified and adored vnder the quality of Pope. For the Biſhops of Rome in thoſe times, were of no greater authority, power, and meanes, then ſome of the Biſhops are in theſe dayes within my Kingdomes.

But belike thoſe Popes of that primitiue age, thought it not expedient in the ſaid times to draw their ſwords, that Empp. might feele the ſharpnes of their edge: they exerciſed their power in a more mild and ſoft kind of carriage towards thoſe miſerable Empetours, for three ſeuerall reaſons alleadged by the L. Cardinall.

The firſt: becauſe the Biſhops then durſt not, by their cenſures, whet and prouoke the ſaid Emperours, for feare of plunging the Church in a Sea of perſecutions. But if I be not cleane voide of common ſenſe; this reaſon ſerues to charge not onely the Biſhops of Rome, but all the auncient profeſſors of Chriſt beſides, with deepe diſsimulation and hypocriſie. For it is all one as if his Lordſhip had profeſſed; that all their obedience to their Soueraignes, was but counterfeit, and extorted, or wrung out of them by force: that all the ſubmiſsiue ſupplications of the auncient Fathers, (the aſſured teſtimonies and pledges of their allegiance, humility, and patience) were onely certaine formes of diſguiſed ſpeech, proceeding not freely from the ſuggeſtions of fidelity, but faintly and fainedly, or at leaſt from the ſtrong twitches and violent conuulſions of feare. Whereupon it followes, that all their torments and puniſhments euen to death, are wrongfully honoured with title, and vniuſtly crowned with the crowne of Martyrdome; becauſe their patience

tience proceeded not from their owne free choice and election, but was violently produced by the force of neceſsitie, as by compulſion: and whereas they had not mutinouſly and rebelliouſly riſen in armes, to aſſwage the ſcorching heat & burning flames of tyrannicall perſecuters, it was not for want of will, but for lacke of power. Of which falſe and forged imputation, the Fathers haue cleared themſelues in their worthy works and writings. Tertullian in his Apologet: *All places are full of Chriſtians; the cities, iſles, caſtles, burroughs, armies, &c. If wee that are ſo infinite a power, & multitude of men, had broken out from you into ſome remote nooke or corner of the world, the cities no doubt had become naked and ſolitarie: the face of the whole Empire had beene ouercaſt with the ſable mantle of a dreadfull and horrible ſilence: the great Emperours had beene driuen to ſeeke out newe cities, and to diſcouer new nations, ouer whom to beare Soueraigne ſway and rule: there had remained more enemies to the State, then ſubiects and friends.* Cyprian alſo againſt Demetrianus: *None of vs all (howſoeuer we are a people mighty and without number) haue made*

Tert. Apol. cap. 37. Heſterni ſumus, & omnia veſtra implenimus.

Cypr. contr. Demetr.

reſiſtance againſt any of your vniuſt and wrongfull actions, executed with all violence; neither haue we ſought by rebellious armes, or by any other ſiniſter practiſes, to crie quittance with you at any time for the righting of our cauſe. Certaine it is, that vnder Iulianus, the whole Empire in a manner profeſſed the Chriſtian Religion, yea, that his Leiftenants and great Commanders, (as Iouinianus and Valentinianus by name) profeſſed Chriſt. Which two Princes not long after attained to the Imperiall dignitie, and yet might with artifice haue ſolicited the Pope ſooner to degrade Iulianus from the Imperiall Throne. For ſay that Iulians whole army had renounced the Chriſtian Religion: (as the L. Cardinall againſt all ſhew and appearance of truth would beare vs in hand; and contrarie to the generall voice of the ſaid whole army, making this profeſsion with one conſent whē Iulian was dead, *We are all Chriſtians:*) yet Italie then perſiſting in the faith of Chriſt, and the army of Iulian then lying quartered in Perſia, the vtmoſt limit of the Empire to the Eaſt, the Biſhop of Rome had fit oppor-

Socr. lib. 3. cap. 19. Theod. lib 4 cap. 1. Sozom. lib. 6 cap. 1.

tunity

tunity to drawe the ſword of authority (if he had then any ſuch ſword hanging at his Pontificall ſide) to make Iulian feele the ſharpe edge of his weapon, and thereby to pull him downe from the ſtately pearch of the Romane Empire. I ſay moreouer, that by this generall conclamation and ſuddaine profeſsion of the Ceſarian army, *Wee are all Chriſtians*, it is clearely teſtified, that if his army or ſouldiers were then addicted to Paganiſme, it was meerly & only wrought by compulſion; cleane contrarie to their ſetled perſwaſion before. And then it followes, that with greater patience they would haue borne the depoſing of Iulian, then if he had ſuffered them to vſe the libertie of their conſcience. To bee ſhort in the matter; S. Auguſtine makes all whole, and by his his teſtimonie doth euince, that Iulians army perſeuered in the faith of Chriſt. *The ſouldiers of Chriſt ſerued a heathen Emperour: But when the cauſe of Chriſt was called in queſtion, they acknowledged none but Chriſt in heauen: Whē the Emperour would haue them to ſerue, and to perfume his idols with frankincenſe, they conſtantly* ſhewed

Auguſt. in Pſal. 124.

ſhewed obedience to God, rather then to the Emperour. After which words, the very ſame words alledged by the L. Cardinall againſt himſelfe doe followe: *They did then diſtinguiſh betweene the Lord eternall, and the Lord temporall: neuertheles they were ſubiect vnto the Lord tomporll for the Lord eternall.* It was therefore to pay God the obedience due to the honour of his Name, and not for feare to incenſe the Emperour, or to drawe perſecution vpon the Church (as the L. Cardinall would make vs beleeue) that Chriſtians of the Primitiue Church, and Biſhops by their cenſures, durſt not anger and prouoke their Emperours. But his Lordſhip by his coloured pretences doth manifeſtly prouoke, incite, and incenſe the people to rebellion, ſo ſoone as they knowe their owne ſtrength to beare out a rebellious practiſe. Whereupon it followes; that in caſe their conſpiracy ſhall work out no good effect; all the blame and fault muſt lie, not in their diſloyaltie & treaſon, but in the badde choice of their times for the beſt aduantage, and in the want of taking a true ſight of their owne

Pag. 82.

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weakeneſſe. Let ſtirring ſpirits bee trained vp in ſuch practicall precepts; let deſperate wits bee ſeaſoned with ſuch rules of diſcipline; and what need we, or how can wee wonder they contriue powder-conſpiracies, and practiſe the damnable art of parricides?

After Iulian, his Lordſhip falles vpon Valentinian the younger; who maintaining Arrianiſme with great and open violence; might haue beene depoſed by the Chriſtians from his Empire, and yet (ſay we) they neuer dream'd of any ſuch practiſe. Here the L. Cardinal makes anſwer: *The Chriſtians mooued with reſpect vnto the freſh and late memory both of the brother and father, as alſo vnto the weake eſtate of the ſons young yeares, abſtained from all counſells and courſes of ſharper effect and operation.* To which anſwer I reply: theſe are but friuolous coniectures and vaine preſumptions, deuiſed and framed to tickle his owne fancie. For had Valentinianus the younger beene the ſonne of an Arrian, had he then alſo attained to threeſcore yeares of age; they would neuer haue borne

Pag. 82. " " " "

themſelues in other faſhion then they did, towards their lawfull Soueraigne. Then the Cardinall goes on: The people would not abandon the factious and ſeditious party, but ſtood ſo firme or obſtinate rather for the faction, that Valentinian for feare of their tumultuous vproares was conſtrained to giue way; and was threatned by the ſouldiers, that except he would adhere vnto the Catholikes, they would yeeld him no aſsiſtance, nor ſtand for his party. Now this anſwer of the L. Cardinall makes nothing to the purpoſe, concerning the Popes power to pull downe Kings from their ſtately neſt. Let vs take notice of his proper conſequence. Valentinian was afraid of the popular tumult at Milan: the Pope therefore hath power to curbe hereticall Kings by depoſition. Now marke what diſtance is betweene Rome and Milan; what difference between the people of Milan, and the Biſhop of Rome; betweene a popular tumult, and a iudicatory ſentence; betweene fact and right; between things done by the people or ſouldiers of Milan,

and

and things to be done according to right and law by the Biſhop of Rome; the ſame diſtance, the ſame difference (if not farre greater) is betweene the L. Cardinalls antecedent and his conſequent; betweene his reaſon, and the maine cauſe or argument which we haue in hand. The madde commotion of the people was not here ſo much to be regarded, as the ſad and ſober inſtruction of the Paſtor; of their good and godly Paſtor S. Ambroſe; a holy Father, a reuerend Prelat, ſo farre from heartning the people of Milan to rebell, that beeing Biſhop of Milan, he offred himſelfe to ſuffer Martyrdome: *If the Emperour abuſe his Imperiall authoritie*, (for ſo Theodoret hath recited his words) *to tyrannize thereby, here am I ready to ſuffer death.* And what reſiſtance he made againſt his L. Emperour, was only by way of ſupplication in theſe humble and melting tearmes: *We beſeech thee, O Auguſtus, as humble ſuppliants; we offer no reſiſtance: we are not ſtriken with feare, but wee flie to ſupplication.* Againe, *If my patrimony bee your marke, enter vpon my patrimonie at your pleaſure: if my body, be-*

hold I will goe meete my torments. Shall I bee drag'd to prison or to death? I will take delight in both. Item, in his Oration to Auxentius: *I can afflict my soule with sorrow, I can vtter the voice of lamentation, I can send forth greiuous groanes against the armes of either, souldiers or Goths. My weapons are my teares: A Preist hath none other defensiue armes: I neither can resist, nor ought in any other manner to make resistance.* *Epist. lib. 5.*

Iustinian Emperour in his old age fell into the heresie of the Aphthartodocites. Against Iustinian (though fewe they were that fauoured him in that heresie) the Bishop of Rome neuer darted with violence any sentence of excommunication, interdiction, or deposition.

The Ostrogot Kings in Italy, the Visigot in Spaine, the Vandal in Africa were all addicted to the Arrian impiety, and some of them cruelly persecuted the true professors. The Visigot and Vandall were no neighbours to Italie. The Pope thereby had the lesse cause to feare the stings of those wasps, if they had been angred. His Holines for all that, neuer had the humour to wrastle or

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iuſtle with any of the ſaid Kings in the cauſe of depoſing them from their Thrones. But eſpecially the times when the Vandalls in Affricke, and the Goths in Italy by Beliſarius and Narſes, (profeſſors of the Orthodoxe faith,) were tyred with long warres, and at laſt were vtterly defeated in bloody battels, are to be conſidered. Then were the times or neuer, for the Pope to vnſheath his keeneſt and ſharpeſt weapons, to vn-caſe his arrowes of depoſition; then were the times to drawe them out of his quiuer, and to ſhoote at all ſuch Arrian Heads: then were the times by diſpenſations to releaſe their ſubiects of their oathes; by ſuch peremptory meanes to aide and ſtrengthen the Catholike cauſe. But in that age the ſaid weapons were not knowne to haue been hammered in the Pontificall forge.

Gregorie I. made his boaſts, that he was able to ruine the Lombards (for many yeares together ſworne enemies to the Biſhops of Rome) their ſtate preſent, and the hope of all their future proſperitie. But he tells vs, that by the feare of God before his

eyes, and in his heart, he was bridled and reſtrained from any ſuch violent practiſe or purpoſe, as elſewhere we haue obſerued: *If I would haue medled with practiſing and procuring the death of Lombards, the whole nation of the Lombards at this day had been robbed of their Kings, Dukes, Earles; they had beene reduced to the tearmes of extreame confuſion.* Hee might at leaſt haue depoſed their King, (if the credit of the L. Cardinals iudgement bee currant) without polluting or ſtaining his own conſcience for the fact.

In Apol. pro iuram. fidel. His owne words lib. 7. Epiſt. 1.

What can we tearm this aſſertion of the L. Cardinall, but open charging the moſt auncient Biſhops of Rome with crueltie, for not yeelding ſuccour to the Church of Chriſt oppreſſed by Tyrants, whoſe oppreſſion they had power to repreſſe by depoſing the oppreſſors? Is it credible, that Ieſus Chriſt hath giuen a Commiſsion to S. Peter and his Succeſſors for ſo many ages, without any power to execute their Commiſsion, or to make any vſe thereof by practiſe? Is it credible, that he hath giuen them a ſword to be kept in the ſcabbard, without

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drawing out once in a thouſand yeares? Is it credible, that in the times when Popes were moſt deboſhed, abandoning themſelues to all ſorts of corrupt and vitious courſes (as it is teſtified by their owne flatterers and beſt affected ſeruants,) is it credible that in thoſe times they beganne to vnderſtand the vertue and ſtrength of their Commiſsion? For if either feare or lacke of power, was the cauſe of holding their hands, and voluntarie binding themſelues to the peace or good behauiour: wherfore is not ſome one Pope at leaſt produced, who hath complained that he was hindered frō executing the power which Chriſt had conferred vpon his Pontificall See? Wherefore is not ſome one of the ancient and holy Fathers alleadged, by whom the Pope hath been aduiſed and exhorted to take courage, to ſtand vpon the vigor and ſinewes of his Papall Office, to vnſheath his Pontificall ſword, to vncaſe his bolts of thunder againſt vngodly Princes, and grieuous enemies to the Church? wherefore liuing vnder Chriſtian and gracious Emperours,

rours, haue they not produced and made knowne the reasons, why they were hindered from drawing the pretended sword, least long custome of not vsing the sword so many ages together, might make it so to rust in the scabbard, that when there should bee occasion to vse the said sword, it could not be drawne at all; and least so long custome of not vsing the same, should confirme prescription to their greater preiudice? If weakenes be a iust let; how is it come to passe, that Popes haue enterprised to depose Philip the Faire, Lewis the XII. and Elizabeth my predecessor of happy memorie; (to let passe others) in whom experience hath well prooued, how great inequalitie was between their strengths? Yea, for the most part from thence grow most grieuous troubles, and cruell warres, which iustly recoile and light vpon the Popes owne head; as happened to Gregorie the VII. and Boniface the VIII. This no doubt is the reason, wherefore the Pope neuer sets in (for feare of such inconueniences) to blast a King with lightening and thunder of Depositi-

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on, but when he perceiues the waters of the Kingdome troubled by ſome ſtrong faction ſetled in his Eſtate; or elſe when the King is confined and bordered by ſome Prince more potent, who thirſts after the prey, and is euer gaping for ſome occaſion to picke a quarrell. The King ſtanding in ſuch eſtate, is it not as eaſie for the Pope to pull him down, as it is for a man with one hand to thruſt downe a tottering wall, when the groundſil is rotten, the ſtuddes vnpin'd, and nodding and bending towards the ground? But if the King ſhall beare downe and breake the backe of the faction within the Realme; if hee ſhall get withall the vpper hand of his enemies out of the Kingdome; then the holy Father preſents him with pardons neuer ſued for, neuer asked; and in a fathers indulgence forſooth, giues him leaue ſtill to hold the Kingdom, which with all his force he was not able to wreſt and wring out of the Kings hand, no more then the clubbe of Hercules out of his fiſt. How many worthy Princes, incenſed by the Pope, to conſpire againſt Soueraigne Lords

their Maſters, and by open rebellion to worke ſome change in their Eſtates, haue miſcarried in the action, with loſſe of life, or honour, or both? For example; Rodulphus Duke of Sueuia was eg'd on by the Pope, againſt Henry IIII. of that name, Emperour. How many maſſacres, how many deſolations of cities and townes, how many bloody battels enſued thereupon? Let hiſtories be ſearched, let iuſt accompts be taken, and beſide many ſieges laid to cities, it will appeare by true computation, that Henry IIII. and Frederic the I. fought aboue threeſcore battels, in defence of their owne right againſt enemies of the Empire, ſtirred vp to armes by the Popes of Rome. How much Chriſtian blood was then ſpilt in theſe bloody battels, it paſſeth mans wit, penne, or tongue to expreſſe. And to giue a little touch vnto matters at home; doth not his Holineſſe vnderſtand right well the weakneſſe of Romane Catholikes in my Kingdome? Doth not his Holineſſe neuertheles animate my ſaid Catholikes to rebellion, and forbid them to take the oath of allegi-

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ance? Doth not his Holines by this means draw (ſo much as in him lies) perſecution vpon the backes of my Romane Catholiks as vpon rebells, and expoſe their life as it were vpon the open ſtall, to be ſold at a very eaſie price? All theſe examples, either ioynt or ſeuerall, are manifeſt and euident proofes, that feare to draw miſcheife and perſecution vpon the Church, hath not barred the Popes from thundering againſt Emperours and Kings, whenſoeuer they conceiued any hope, by their fulminations to aduance their owne greatnes.

Laſt of all, I referre the matter to the moſt poſſeſſed with preiudice, euen to the very aduerſaries themſelues; whether this doctrine, by which people are trained vp in ſubiection vnto Infidel or hereticall Kings, vntill the ſubiects be of ſufficient ſtrength to mate their Kings, to expell their Kings, and to depoſe them from their Kingdoms, doth not incenſe the Turkiſh Emperours and other Infidel Princes, to root out all the Chriſtians that drawe in their yoke, as people that wait onely for a fit occaſion to re-

bell: and take themſelues ingaged for obedience to their Lords, only by conſtraint and ſeruile feare. Let vs therefore now conclude with Ozius, in that famous Epiſtle ſpeaking to Conſtantius an Arrian heretike: *As hee that by ſecret practiſe or open violence, would bereaue thee of thy Empire, ſhould violate Gods ordinance: ſo bee thou touched with feare, leaſt, by vſurping authoritie ouer Church-matters, thou tumble not headlong into ſome hainous crime, or greiuous offence.* Where this holy Biſhop hath not vouchſafed to inſert and mention the L. Cardinals exception; to wit, the right of the Church alwaies excepted and ſaued, when ſhe ſhall be of ſufficient ſtrength to ſhake off the yoke of Emperours. Neither ſpeaks the ſame holy Biſhop of priuate perſons alone, or men of ſome particular cõditiõ and calling; but he ſets downe a generall rule for all degrees, neuer to impeach Imperiall Maieſty vpon any pretext whatſoeuer.

Apud Athan. in Epiſt. ad ſolitar. vitam agentes.

As his Lordſhips firſt reaſon drawn from weakeneſſe is exceeding weake: ſo is that which the L. Cardinall takes vp in the next place: *Hee tells vs there is very great difference be-*

The 2. reaſ. Pag. 77.

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tweene Pagan Emperours, and Chriſtian Princes: Pagan Emperours who neuer did homage to Chriſt, who neuer were by their ſubiects receiued and ſaluted Emperours, with condition to acknowledge perpetuall ſubiection vnto the Empire of Chriſt; who neuer were bound by oath and mutuall contract betweene Prince and ſubiect. Chriſtian Princes, who ſlide backe by Apoſtaſie, degenerate by Arrianiſme, or fall away by Mahometiſme. Touching the latter of theſe two, his Lordſhips formall words be theſe: *If they ſhall as it were take an oath, and make a vowe contrarie to their firſt oath and vowe made and taken when they were inſtalled, and contrary to the condition vnder which they receiued the Scepter of their Fathers; if they withall ſhall turne perſecutors of the Catholike religion,* touching theſe I ſay, the L. Cardinall holds, that without queſtion they may be remooued from their Kingdomes. He tells vs not by whome; but euery where he meanes by the Pope. As for Kings depoſed by the Pope vnder pretence of ſtupiditie, as Childeric; or of matrimoniall grauamines, as Philip I. or for collating of benefices, as Philip the Faire; not one word. By that point his Lord-

ſhip ſmoothly glides, and ſhuffles it vp in ſilence, for feare of diſtaſting the Pope on the one ſide, or his auditors on the other.

Now in alledging this reaſon, his Lordſhip makes all the world a witneſſe, that in depoſing of Kings, the Pope hath no eye of regard to the benefit and ſecuritie of the Church. For ſuch Princes as neuer ſuckt other milke then that of Infidelitie, and perſecution of Religion, are no leſſe noiſome and pernicious vermin to the Church, then if they had drawne the ſweeteſt and moſt delicate milke of the Churches breaſts. And as for the greatneſſe of the ſinne or offence, it ſeemes to me there is very little difference in the matter. For a Prince that neuer did ſweare any religious obedience at all to Ieſus Chriſt, is bound no leſſe to ſuch obedience, then if he had taken a ſolemne oath to performe the ſame. As the ſonne that rebelliouſly ſtands vp againſt his father, is in equall degree of ſinne; whether hee hath ſworne or not ſworne obedience to his father: becauſe hee is bound to ſuch obedience, not by any voluntarie contract or co-

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uenant, but by the law of Nature. The commaundement of God to kiſſe the Son, whom the Father hath confirmed and ratified King of Kings, equally binds all Kings, as well Pagans as Chriſtians. On the other ſide; who denies, who doubts, that Conſtantius Emperour at his firſt ſteppe or entrance into the Empire, did not ſweare and bind himſelfe by ſolemne vowe, to keepe the rules and to maintaine the precepts of the Orthodox faith; or that he did not receiue his fathers Empire vpon ſuch condition? This notwithſtanding, the Biſhop of Rome pulled not Conſtantius from his Imperiall throne, but Conſtantius gaue the Biſhop of Rome the lift out of his Papall See. And were it ſo, that an oath taken by a King at his conſecration, and after violated, is a ſufficient cauſe for the Pope to depoſe an Apoſtate or hereticall Prince, then by good conſequence the Pope may in like ſort depoſe a King, who beeing neither dead in Apoſtaſie, nor ſicke of hereſie, doth neglect onely the due adminiſtration of iuſtice to his loyall ſubiects. For his oath taken at

Pſal. 2.

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conſecration imports likewiſe, that he ſhall miniſter iuſtice to his people. A point wherin the holy Father is held ſhort by the Lord Cardinall; who dares preſcribe new lawes to the Pope, and preſumes to limit his *fulnes of power*, within certaine meeres and headlands; extending the Popes power onely to the depoſing of Chriſtian Kings, when they turne Apoſtates forſaking the Catholike faith; and not of ſuch Princes as neuer breathed any thing but pure Paganiſme, and neuer ſerued or went forth vnder the flying colours of Ieſus Chriſt. Meane while his Lordſhip forgets, that King Attabaliba was depoſed by the Pope from his Kingdome of Peru; and the ſaid Kingdome was conferred vpon the King of Spaine, though the ſaid poore King of Peru, neuer forſooke his heathen ſuperſtition; and though the turning of him out of his terreſtrial Kingdom was no way to turne and conuert him vnto the faith of Chriſt, and ſo to make him a true conuert. Yea his Lordſhip a little after tells vs himſelfe; that *Be. the Turkes poſſeſſion in the conqueſts that he makes ouer Chriſtians*

Pag. 77.

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neuer ſo auncient; yet by no long tract of time whatſoeuer, can hee gaine ſo much as a thumbes breadth of preſcription: that is to ſay, the Turke for all that is but a diſſeiſor, one that violently and wilfully keeps an other from his owne, and by good right may be diſpoſſeſſed of the ſame: whereas notwithſtanding the Turkiſh Emperours neuer fauoured nor ſauoured Chriſtianity. Let vs runne ouer the examples of Kings whome the Pope hath dared and preſumed to depoſe, and hardly will any one be found, of whom it may be truely auouched, that hee hath taken an oath contrary to his oath of ſubiection to *Ieſus Chriſt*, or that hee hath wilfully caſt himſelfe into Apoſtaticall defection.

And comes to any man that weighs the matter with due conſideration, it will be found apparantly falſe, that Kings of France haue been receiued of their ſubiects at any time, with condition to ſerue Ieſus Chriſt. They were actually Kings before they came forth in Royall and magnificent pompe to the ſolemnity of their ſacring,

before they vſed any open ſtipulation or promiſe to their ſubiects. For in hereditary Kingdomes, (nothing more certaine, nothing more vncontroulable) the Kings death inſtantly makes liuery and ſeiſin of the Royalty, to his next ſucceſſor. Nor is it materiall to reply, that a King ſucceeding by right of inheritance, takes an oath in the perſon of his predeceſſor. For euery oath is perſonall, proper to the perſon by whom it is taken: and to God no liuing creature can ſweare, that his owne ſonne or his heire apparant ſhall prooue an honeſt man. Well may the father, and with great ſolemnitie, promiſe that he will exhort his heire apparant with all his power and the beſt of his endeauours, to feare God and to practiſe pietie. If the fathers oath be agreeable to the duty of godlines, then the ſonne is bound thereby, whether he take an oath, or take none. On the other ſide, if the fathers oath ſpring and riſe from the puddles of impiety, then the ſonne is bound thereby to goe the contrary way. Againe, if the fathers oath concerne things of indifferent nature, and

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ſuch as by the variety or change of times, become either pernicious or impoſſible, then it is free for the Kings next ſucceſſor and heire, prudently to fit and proportion his lawes vnto the times preſent, and to the beſt benefit of the Commonwealth.

When I call theſe things to mind with ſome attention, I am out of all doubt his Lordſhip is very much to ſeeke, in the right ſenſe and nature of his Kings oath taken at his Coronation, to defend the Church, and to perſeuere in the Catholike faith. For what is more vnlike and leſſe credible then this conceit, that after Clouis had raigned 15. yeares in the ſtate of Paganiſme, and then receiued holy Baptiſme, he ſhould become Chriſtian vpon this condition, That in caſe he ſhould afterward revolt from the faith, it ſhould then bee in the power of the Church, to turne him out of his Kingdome? But had any ſuch conditionall ſtipulation been made by Clouis, in very good earneſt and ſincerity of truth, yet would he neuer haue intended, that his depoſing ſhould be the act of the Romane Biſhop,

but rather of those (whether Peeres, or people, or whole body of the State) by whom he was lawfully aduanced to the Kingdome. Let vs heare the truth, and this is the truth: It is farre from the customary vse in France, for their Kings to take any such oath, or to vse any such stipulation with their subiects. If any King or Prince whersoeuer, doth vse an oath or solemne promise in these expresse tearmes, *Let mee loose my Kingdome, or my life; bee that day my last both for life and raigne, when I shall first reuolt from the Christian religion:* by these words he calls vpon God for vengeance, he vses imprecation against his owne head: but hee makes not his Crowne to stoope by this meanes, to any power in the Pope, or in the Church, or in the people.

And touching inscriptions vpon coines, of which point his Lordship speakes by the way; verily the nature of the money or coine (the stamping and minting whereof is one of the markes of the Prince his dignity and Soueraignty) is nothing at all impaired, altered, or changed, the allay either

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of the gold or of the ſiluer is nothing at all imbaſed by bearing the letters of Chriſts name, on the reuerſe or on the front. Such characters of Chriſts name, are a kind of aduertiſements and inſtructions to the people, that in ſhewing and yeelding obedience vnto the King, they manifeſt and expreſſe their obedience vnto Chriſt. And thoſe Princes likewiſe, who are ſo well aduiſed to haue the moſt ſacred names inſcribed and printed in their coines, doe take and acknowledge *Ieſus Chriſt*, for ſupreame King of Kings. The ſaid holy characters are no repreſentation or profeſſion, that any Kings Crown depends vpon the Church, or can be taken away by the Pope. The L. Card. indeed ſo beares vs in hand. But he inuerts the words of *Ieſus Chriſt*, and wrings them out of the right ioynt. For Chriſt without all ambiguitie and circumlocution, by the image and inſcription vpon the money, doth directly and expreſſely prooue Cæſar to be free from ſubiection, and intirely Soueraigne. Now if ſuch a ſupreme and Soueraigne Prince, at any time ſhall bandy and

combine against God, and thereby ſhall become a rebellious and perfidious Prince; doubtleſſe for ſuch vnworthy diſloyalty he ſhall worthily deſerue, that God would take from him all hope of life eternall: and yet hereby neither Pope nor people hath reaſon to be puft vp in any proper, lawfull, and ordinarie power of their owne, to depriue him of his temporall Kingdome.

Pag. 76. The L. Cardinall ſaith beſides: *The champions of the Popes power to depoſe Kings, doe expound that commaundement of S. Paul, by which euery ſoule is made ſubiect vnto the ſuperiour powers, to be a prouiſionall precept or caution accommodated to the times; and to ſtand in force, onely vntill the Church might growe in ſtrength, and vnto ſuch a ſcantling, that it might bee in the power of the faithfull (without ſhaking the pillars of the Chriſtian ſtate) to ſtand in the breach, and cautelouſly to prouide that none but Chriſtian Princes might bee receiued: according to the Law in Deut. Thou ſhalt make thee a King from among thy brethren.* The reaſon whereupon they ground is this: *Becauſe Paul ſaith, It is a ſhame for Chriſtians to bee iudged vnder vniuſt Infidels, in matters or buſines,*

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which they had one against another. For which inconuenience, Iustinian after prouided by Law; when he ordained that no Infidell out of the Church, nor heretike within the Church, might be admitted to the administration of Iustice in the Commonwealth.

In which words of the Cardinall, the word *Receiued*, is to be obserued especially and aboue the rest. For by chopping in that word, he doth nimbly and with a tricke of legier-de-main, transform or change the very state of the question. For the question or issue of the cause, is not about receiuing, establishing, or choosing a Prince, (as in those Nations where the Kingdome goes by election) but about doing homage to the Prince, when God hath setled him in the Kingdome, and hath cast it vpon the said Prince by hereditarie succession. For that which is written, *Thou shalt make thee a King*, doth no way concerne and touch the people of France in these dayes: because the making of their King hath not of long time, and for many ages been tied to their election. The passage therefore in Deuteronom. makes nothing to the purpose, no more

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then doth Iuſtinians law. For it is our free and voluntarie confeſſion, that a Chriſtian Prince is to haue ſpeciall care of the Lawes, and to prouide that no vnbeleeuer be made Lord-Cheife-Iuſtice of the Land; that no Infidell be put in truſt with adminiſtration of iuſtice to the people. But here the iſſue doth not direct vs to ſpeake of Delegates, of ſub-ordinate or ſub-altern Magiſtrates, and ſuch as are in Commiſſion from the Prince; but of the ſupreame Prince himſelfe, the Soueraigne Magiſtrate ordained by nature, and confirmed by ſucceſſion. Our queſtion is, whether ſuch a Prince can be vnthroned by the Pope, by whom he was not placed in the Throne; and whether the Pope can deſpoile ſuch a Prince, of that Royaltie which was neuer giuen him by the Pope, vnder any pretended colour and imputation or aſperſion of hereſie, of ſtupiditie, or infringing the priuiledges of Monaſteries, or tranſgreſſing the lawes and lines of holy matrimonie.

Now that Saint Pauls commandement which binds euery ſoule in the bands of

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ſubiection vnto the higher powers, is no precept giuen by way of *prouiſo*, and onely to ſerue the times and to flit with times, but a ſtanding principle and a perpetuall rule; it is hereby more then manifeſt. S. Paul hath grounded this commaundement vpon certaine reaſons, not only conſtant and permanent in their proper nature; but likewiſe neceſſary for euery ſtate, condition, and revolution of the times. His reaſons; *Becauſe all powers are ordained of God: becauſe reſiſting of powers is reſiſting the ordinance of God: becauſe the Magiſtrate beares the ſword to execute iuſtice: becauſe obedience and ſubiection to the Magiſtrate is neceſſary, not onely for feare of his wrath, or feare of puniſhment, but alſo for conſcience ſake.* It is therefore a caſe grounded vpon conſcience, it is not a lawe deuiſed by humane wiſedome; it is not variable and faſhionable to the qualities or varieties of the times. Apoſtolical inſtructions for the right informing of manners, are not changeable according to times and ſeaſons. To vſe the L. Cardinals language, and to followe his fancie in the matter, is to make way for two peſtife-

rous miſcheifes. Firſt, let it be free and lawfull for Chriſtians, to hold the commaunding rules of God for prouiſionall cautions, and what followes? Men are lead into the broad way of impiety, and the whole Scripture is wiped out of all her authority. Then againe, for the other miſcheife: The glorious triumphs of moſt bleſſed Martyrs in their vnſpeakeable torments and ſufferings, by the L. Cardinalls poſition ſhall be iudged vnworthy to beare and to weare the title and Crown of Martyrdome. How ſo? Becauſe (according to his new fiction) they haue giuen place to the violence and fury of heathen Magiſtrates, not in obedience to the neceſſary and certaine commandement of God, but rather to a prouiſionall direction, accommodated to the humours of the times. And therefore the L. Cardinall hath vſed none other clay wherewith to dawbe ouer his deuiſe, but plaine falſification of holy Scripture. For he makes the Apoſtle ſay to the Corinthians, *It is a ſhame for Chriſtians to bee iudged vnder vnbeleeuing Magiſtrates:* whereas in that whole con-

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text of Paul, there is no ſuch matter. For when the Apoſtle ſaith, *I ſpeake it euen to your ſhame*; he doth not ſay it is a ſhame for a beleeuer to be iudged vnder an Infidell; but he would make the faithfull aſhamed of their vngodly courſes and vnchriſtian practiſes; becauſe in ſuing and impleading one an other, they laid their actions of controuerſie and contention in the Courts of vnbeleeuing Iudges. The ſhame was not in bearing that yoke which God had charged their necks withall; but in deuouring and eating vp one an other with writs of *habeas corpus*, and with other proceſſes; as alſo in vncouering the ſhame, in laying open the ſhamefull parts and prankes played by Chriſtians before Infidels, to the great ſcandall of the Church. Here I ſay the L. Cardinall is taken in a tricke of manifeſt falſification. If therefore a King when he falls to play the heretike, deſerues to be depoſed; why ſhall not a Cardinall when he falls to play the iuggler with holy Scripture, deſerue to be diſrobed?

πρὸς ἐντροπὴν λέγω.

Meane while the indifferent Reader is to

conſider, how greatly this doctrine is preiudiciall, and how full of danger, to Chriſtians liuing vnder hereticall or Pagan Princes. For make it once knowne to the Emperour of the Turkes, let him once get neuer ſo little a ſmacke of this doctrine; that Chriſtians liuing vnder his Empire do take Gods commaundement, for obedience to Princes whom they count Infidels, to bee onely a prouiſonall precept for a time, and withall doe wait euery houre for all occaſions to ſhake off the yoke of the Turkiſh bondage; doubtleſſe he will neuer ſpare with all ſpeed to roote the whole ſtocke, with all the armes and branches of Chriſtians, out of his dominions. Adde hereunto the L. Cardinalls former poſition; that poſſeſſion kept neuer ſo long by the Grand Signor in his Conqueſts ouer the Chriſtians, gaines him not by ſo long tract of time one inch of preſcription; and it will appeare, that his Lordſhip puts the Turkiſh Emperour in mind, and by his inſtruction leades the ſaid Emperour as it were by the hand, to haue no manner of affiance in his Chriſti-

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an ſubiects; and withall to afflict his poore Chriſtians with all ſorts of moſt grieuous & cruell torments. In this regard the poore Chriſtians of Græcia and Syria, muſt needs reſt free, and cleare of all obligation to his Lordſhip. As for my ſelfe, and my Popiſh ſubiects, with whom I goe for no leſſe then an heretike forſooth, and of the higheſt claſſe or forme; am not I by this doctrine of the Cardinall pricked and whetted againſt my naturall inclination, to turne heroicall clemencie into a courſe of tyrannicall rigour, ſeeing that by his doctrine my ſubiects are made to beleeue, they owe me ſubiection onely by way of *prouiſo*, and with waiting the occaſion to worke my vtter deſtruction and finall ruine? the rather, becauſe Turkes, miſcreants, and heretikes are marſhalled by the Cardinall in the ſame ranke; and heretikes are counted worſe, yea more iuſtly depoſeable, then Turkes and Infidels, as irreligious breakers and violaters of their oath? Who ſees not here how great indignitie is offered to me a Chriſtian King? paralleld with Infidels, reputed worſe then

a Turke, taken for an vſurper of my Kingdomes, reckoned a Prince, to whom ſubiects owe a forced obedience by way of prouiſion, vntill they ſhall haue meanes to ſhake off the yoke, and to bare my temples of the Crowne, which neuer can be pulled from the ſacred Head, but with loſſe of the head it ſelfe?

Touching the warres vndertaken by the French, Engliſh, and Germaines, in their expedition for Ieruſalem, it appeares by the iſſue and euent of the ſaid warres, that God neuer approoued them for honourable. That expedition was a deuiſe and inuention of the Pope, whereby he might come to be infeoffed in the Kingdomes of Chriſtian Princes. For then all ſuch of the French, Engliſh, or Germaine nations as vndertooke the Croiſade, became the Popes meere vaſſals. Then all robbers by the high way ſide, adulterers, cut-throats, and baſe bankerupts, were exempted from the Secular and Ciuil power; their cauſes were ſped in Conſiſtorian Courts, ſo ſoone as they had gotten the Croſſe on their caſſocks or coat-armours,

mours, and had vowed to ſerue in the expedition for the Leuant. Then for the Popes pleaſure, and at his command, whole countryes were emptied of their Nobles and common ſouldiers. Then they made long marches into the Leuant. For what purpoſe? Onely to die vpon the points of the Saracens pikes, or by the edge of their barbarous courtelaſſes, battle-axes, fauchions, and other weapons, without any benefit and aduantage to themſelues or others. Then the Nobles were driuen to ſell their goodly Mannors, and auncient demaines to Church-men of the long robe, at vnder priſes and low rates; the very roote from which a great part of the Church and Church-mens reuenewes hath ſprung and grown to ſo great height. Then, to be ſhort, his moſt bountifull Holines gaue to any of the riffe-raffe-ranke, that would vndertake this expedition into the holy land, a free, full, and plenarie pardon for all his ſinnes; beſides a degree of glory aboue the vulgar in the Celeſtiall Paradiſe. Militarie vertue, I confeſſe, is commendable and honourable,

See the Bull of Innoc. 3. at the end of the Later. Cone.

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prouided it be employed for iuſtice: and that generous noblenеſſe of valiant ſpirits be not vnder a colour and ſhadow of piety, fetcht ouer with ſome caſts or deuiſes of Italian cunning.

Now let vs obſerue the rare wiſdome of the L. Cardinall through this whole diſcourſe. His Lordſhip is pleaſed in his Oration, to cite certaine few paſſages of Scripture; he culls and picks them out for the moſt gracefull in ſhewe: he leaues out of his liſt whole troupes of honourable witneſſes, vpon whoſe teſtimonie, the Popes thēſelues and their principall adherents doe build Papall power to depoſe Kings, and to ſway all Temporall cauſes. Take a ſight of their beſt and moſt honourable witneſſes. Peter ſaid to Chriſt, *See here two ſwords*; and Chriſt anſwered, *It is ſufficient*. Chriſt ſaid to Peter, *Put vp thy ſword into thy ſheath*. God ſaid to Ieremy, *Ier. 1.* *I haue eſtabliſhed thee ouer Nations & Kingdomes*. Paul ſaid to the Corinthians, *1. Cor. 2.* *The ſpirituall man diſcerneth all things*. Chriſt ſaid to his Apoſtles, *Whatſoeuer yee ſhall looſe vpon earth*: by which words the Pope hath pow-

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or forsooth to loose the oath of allegiance. Moses said, *In the beginning God created the heauen and the earth.* Vpon these passages, Pope Boniface 8. grapling and tugging with Philip the Faire, doth build his Temporall power. Other Popes and Papists auouch the like authorities. Christ said of himselfe, *All things are giuen to me of my Father, and all power is giuen vnto me in heauen and in earth.* The Deuils said, *If thou cast vs out, send vs into this herd of swine.* Christ said to his Disciples, *Yee shall finde the colt of an asse bound, loose it and bring it vnto me.* By these places the aduersaries prooue, that Christ disposed of Temporall matters, and inferre thereupon, why not Christs Vicar as well as Christ himselfe. The places and testimonies now following are very expresse: *Instead of thy fathers shall be thy children: thou shalt make them Princes thorough all the earth.* Item, Iesus Christ not only commanded Peter to *feed his lambs*; but said also to Peter, *Arise, kill, and eat:* the pleasant glosse, the rare inuention of the L. Cardinal Baronius. Christ said to the people, *If I were lift vp from the earth, I will draw all things vnto me.*

Extrauag. Vnam Sanctam.

Psal. 45.

Ioh. 12.

me. Who lets, what hinders this place from fitting the Pope with generall consent? Paul said to the Corinthians, *Know yee not that we shall iudge the Angels? how much more then the things that pertaine vnto this life?* A little after, *Haue not we power to eate?* These are the cheife passages, on which as vpon main arches, the roofe of Papall Monarchy, concerning Temporall causes, hath been laied and rested for three or foure ages past. And yet his Lordship out of his great wisedome, durst not repose any confidence in their firme standing to beare vp the said roofe of Temporall Monarchie, for feare of making his auditors to burst with laughter. A wise part without question, if his Lordship had not defiled his lips before, (and not wiped his mouth after) with a more ridiculous argument drawne from the leprosie and the drie scab.

Let vs now by way of comparison cast our eies vpon Iesus Christ paying tribute vnto Cæsar; and the Pope making Cæsar to pay him tribute: Iesus Christ perswading the Iewes to pay tribute vnto an heathen Emperour;

perour; and the Pope diſpenſing with ſubiects for their obedience to Chriſtian Emperours: Ieſus Chriſt refuſing to arbitrate a controuerſie of inheritance partable betweene two priuate parties, and the Pope intruding himſelfe without warrant or Commiſſion to be abſolute Iudge in the depoſing of Kings: Ieſus Chriſt profeſſing that his Kingdome is not of this world, and the Pope eſtabliſhing himſelfe in a terrene Empire. In like manner the Apoſtles forſaking all their goods to followe Chriſt, and the Pope robbing Chriſtians of their goods; the Apoſtles perſecuted by Pagan Emperours, & the Pope now ſetting his foote on the verie throat of Chriſtian Emperours, then proudly treading Imperiall Crownes vnder his bleſſed feet. By this compariſon, the L. Cardinalls allegation of Scripture in fauour of his Maſter the Pope, is but a kind of puppet-play, to make Ieſus Chriſt a mocking-ſtocke, rather then to ſatisfie his auditors with any ſound precepts and wholeſome inſtructions. Hereof he ſeemes to giue ſome inckling himſelfe. For after hee hath

beene plentifull in citing authorities of Scripture, and of newe Doctors, which make for the Popes power to depoſe Kings;
Pag.85. at laſt he comes in with a faire and open confeſſion, that neither by diuine Oracles, nor by honourable antiquitie, this controuerſie hath been yet determined: and ſo puls down in a word with one hand, the goodly frame of worke that he had built and ſet vp before with an other: diſcouering withall the reluctation and priuie checkes of his owne conſcience.

There yet remaines one obiection, the knot whereof the L. Cardinall in a manner ſweats to vntie. His words be theſe: *The*
Pag.84. " *champions for the negatiue flie to the analogie of*
" *other proceedings and practiſes in the Church. They*
" *affirme that priuate perſons, maſters or owners of*
" *goods and poſſeſſions among the common people, are*
" *not depriued of their goods for hereſie, and conſe-*
" *quently that Princes much more ought not for the*
" *ſame crime to be depriued of their eſtates.* For anſwer to this reaſon, he brings in the defendants of depoſition, ſpeaking after this manner: " *In the Kingdome of France the ſtrict execu-*

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tion of lawes decreed in Court against heretickes, is fauourably ſuſpended and ſtopped, for the preſeruation of peace and publike tranquilitie. Hee ſaith elſewhere, *Conniuence is vſed towards theſe heretikes in regard of their multitude; becauſe a notable part of the French Nation and State is made vp and conſiſts of heretikes.* I ſuppoſe that out of ſpeciall charitie, hee would haue thoſe heretikes of his owne making, forewarned what curteous vſe and intreaty they are to expect; when he affirms that execution of the lawes is but ſuſpended. For indeed ſuſpenſions hold but for a time. But in a cauſe of that nature and importance, I dare promiſe my ſelfe; that my moſt honoured Brother the King of France, will make vſe of other and better counſell: will rather ſeeke the amitie of his neighbour Princes, and the Peace of his Kingdome: will beare in mind the great and faithful ſeruice of thoſe, who in matter of religion diſſent from his Maieſty; as of the onely men that haue preſerued and ſaued the Crowne for the King his Father, of moſt glorious memory. I am perſwaded my Brother of France will be-

leeue, that his liege people pretended by the L. Cardinall to be heretikes, are not halfe so bad as my Romane Catholike ſubiects; who by ſecret practiſes vnder-mine my life, ſerue a forraigne Soueraigne, are diſcharged by his Bulls of their obedience due to me their naturall Soueraigne; are bound (by the maximes and rules publiſhed and maintained in fauour of the Pope, before this full and famous aſſembly of the Eſtates at Paris; if the ſaid maximes be of any weight and authority) to hold me for no lawfull King; are by his Lordſhip there taught and inſtructed, that Pauls commaundement concerning ſubiection vnto the higher powers, aduerſe to their profeſſed religion, is onely a prouiſionall precept, framed to the times, and watching for the opportunity to ſhake off the yoke. All which notwithſtanding, I deale with ſuch Romane-Catholikes according to the rules and cautions of Princely clemencie; their hainous and pernicious error, in effect no leſſe then the capitall crime of high treaſon, I vſe to call, as it were with a tearme of abatement,

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onely a diſeaſe or diſtemper of the mind. Laſt of all; I beleeue my ſaid Brother of France will ſet downe in his tables, as in perpetuall record, how little he ſtands ingaged to the Lord Cardinal in this behalfe. For thoſe of the reformed Religion profeſſe and proclame to the whole world, that next vnder God, they owe their preſeruation and ſecure eſtate to the wiſedome and benignity of their Kings. But now comes the Cardinall, and he ſeekes to ſteale this good and ſincere perſwaſion out of their loyall hearts: tells them in open Parlement, and without any going about buſhes; that all their welfare and ſecuritie ſtands in their multitude, and in the feare which others conceiue to trouble the State, by the ſtrict execution of lawes againſt heretikes.

He addes moreouer, that *In caſe a third ſect ſhould peepe out and growe vp in France, the profeſſors thereof ſhould ſuffer confiſcation of their goods, with loſſe of life it ſelfe: as hath beene practiſed at Geneua againſt Seruetus, and in England againſt Arrians.* Let his Lordſhip be anſwered, That puniſhments for heretikes, duely

Note by the way that here the Church of Rome is called a ſect.

and

and according to law conuicted, are ſet downe and inflicted by decrees of the ciuill Magiſtrate, bearing rule in the countrey where the ſaid heretikes inhabite, and not by any ordinances of the Pope. I ſay withall, the L. Cardinal hath no reaſon to match and parallell the Reformed Churches with Seruetus and the Arrians. For thoſe heretikes were powerfully conuicted by Gods word, and lawfully condemned by the ancient Generall Councils; where they were permitted and admitted to plead their cauſe in perſon. But as for the holy truth profeſſed by my ſelfe, and thoſe of the reformed religion; it was neuer yet hiſſed out of Diuinitie Schooles; nor caſt out of any Councill, (like ſome Parlement bills) where both ſides haue been heard with like indifference. Yea, what Councill ſoeuer hath beene offered vnto vs in theſe latter times, it hath bin propoſed with certaine preſuppoſitions of great diſaduantage and notorious partiality; as, That his Holineſſe (beeing a partie in the cauſe, & conſequently to come vnder iudgment as it were to the barre vpon his triall)

ſhall

ſhall be the Iudge of Aſſize with Commiſſion of oyer and determiner: that it ſhall be celebrated in a citie of no ſafe acceſſe, without ſafe conduct or conuoy to come or goe at pleaſure, and without danger: that it ſhal be aſſembled of ſuch perſons with free ſuffrage and voice as vphold this rule, which they haue alreadie put in practiſe againſt Iohn Hus and Hierome of Prage) that faith giuen, and oath taken to an heretike, ought not to be obſerued.

Now then to reſume our former matter and argument; If the Pope hitherto hath neuer preſumed, for pretended hereſie to confiſcate by iuridicall ſentence, either the lands or the goods of priuate perſons, or common people of the French Nation; wherefore ſhould hee dare to diſpoſſeſſe Kings of their Royall Thrones? wherefore takes he more vpon him and inſults more ouer Kings, then ouer priuate perſons? wherefore ſhall the ſacred heads of Kings be more churliſhly, vnciuilly, and rigorouſly handled, then the common hoods of the meaneſt churles? Here the L. Cardinall in

ſtead of a direct anſwer, breakes out of the liſts, alleadging cleane from the purpoſe examples of heretikes puniſhed, not by the Pope, but by the ciuill Magiſtrate of the Countrey. But Bellarmine ſpeakes to the point with a more free and open heart: he is abſolute and reſolute in this opinion, that his Holineſſe hath plenary power to diſpoſe all Temporall eſtates and matters in the whole world: *I am confident* (ſaith Bellarmine) *and I ſpeake it with aſſurance, that our Lord Ieſus Chriſt in the dayes of his mortalitie, had power to diſpoſe of all Temporall things; yea, to ſtrippe Soueraigne Kings and abſolute Lords of their Kingdomes and Seignories: and without all doubt hath graunted and left euen the ſame power vnto his Vicar, to make vſe thereof whenſoeuer hee ſhall thinke it neceſſary for the ſaluation of ſoules.* And ſo his Lordſhip ſpeakes without exception of any thing at all. For who doth not knowe, that Ieſus Chriſt had power to diſpoſe no leſſe of priuate mens poſſeſſions, then of whole Realmes and Kingdomes at his pleaſure, if it had been his pleaſure to diſplay the enſignes of his power? The

Contr. Barclaium. cap. 27.

ſame

ſame fulneſſe of power is likewiſe in the Pope. In good time: belike his Holineſſe is the ſole heire of Chriſt, *ex aſſe*, in whole and in part. The laſt Lateran Council fines a Laic that ſpeakes blaſphemy, for the firſt offence (if he be a gentleman) at 25. ducats, and at 50. for the ſecond. It preſuppoſes and takes for graunted, that the Church may rifle forſooth at her pleaſure, and ranſacke the purſes of priuate men, and caſt lots for their goods. The Councill of Trent diggeth as deepe for the ſame veine of gold and ſiluer. It ordaines; *That Emperours, Kings, Dukes, Princes, and Lords of cities, caſtles, and territories holding of the Church, (in caſe they ſhall aſſigne any place within their limits or liberties for the duell betweene two ſingle Chriſtians) ſhall bee depriued of the ſaid citie, caſtle, or place, where ſuch duell ſhall be performed, the ſaid place holding of the Church by any kind of tenure: that all other Eſtates held in fee where the like offence ſhall bee committed, ſhall forthwith fall and become forfeited to their immediate and next Lords: that al goods, poſſeſſions, and eſtates, as well of the combatants themſelues, as of their ſeconds ſhall bee confiſcate.*

Seſſ. 9.

Seſſ. 25. cap. 19.

This Councel doth neceſſarily preſuppoſe, it lieth in the hand and power of the Church, to diſpoſe of all the lands and eſtates, held in fee throughout all Chriſtendome; (becauſe the Church forſooth is inueſted really with an hability to take from one, and giue vnto an other all eſtates held in fee whatſoeuer; as well ſuch as hold of the Church, as of ſecular Lords) and to eſtabliſh ordinances for the confiſcation of all priuate perſons goods. By this Canon the Kingdome of Naples hath need to ſtand vpon a perpetuall guard, and to looke well vnto it ſelfe. For one duell it may fall into the Exchecker of the Romane Church: becauſe that Kingdome payeth a Releife to the Church, as a Royaltie or Seignory that holdeth in fee of the ſaid Church. And in France there is not one Lordſhip, not one Mannor, not one farme which the Pope by this meanes cannot ſhift ouer to a newe Lord. His Lordſhip therefore had carried himſelfe and the cauſe much better; if in ſtead of ſeeking ſuch idle ſhifts, he had by a more large aſſertion maintained (as his brother

ther Bellarmine doth) the Popes power to diſpoſe of priuate mens poſſeſſions, with no leſſe right and authority then of Kingdoms. For what colour of reaſon can be giuen, for making the Pope Lord of the whole, and not of the parts? for making him Lord of the forreſt in groſſe, and not of the trees in parcell? for making him Lord of the whole houſe, and not of the parlour or the dining chamber?

His Lordſhip alleadgeth yet another reaſon, but of no better ſtuffe or weight: *Betweene the power of priuate owners ouer their goods, and the power of Kings ouer their eſtates, there is no little difference. For the goods of priuate perſons are ordained for their owners, and Princes for the benefit of their Common-wealths.* Heare me now anſwer. If this Cardinal-reaſon hath any force to inferre, that a King may lawfully be depriued of his Kingdome for hereſie; but a priuate perſon cannot for the ſame crime be turned out of his manſion houſe; then it ſhall follow in good conſequence by the ſame reaſon, that a Father for the ſame cauſe and crime may be depriued of all

power ouer his children, but a priuate owner cannot be depriued of his goods in the like caſe: becauſe goods are ordained for the benefit and comfort of their owners, but fathers are ordained for the good and benefit of their children. But moſt certaine it is, that Kings repreſenting the image of God in earth, and bearing Gods place, haue a better and cloſer ſeat in their chaires of Eſtate, then any priuate perſons haue in the ſaddle of their inheritances and patrimonies, which are daily ſeene for ſleight cauſes, to flit and to fall into the hands of new Lords. Whereas a Prince beeing the Head, cannot be looſed in the proper and maine ioynt; nor diſmounted like a cannon when the carriage thereof is vnlockt, without a ſore ſhaking, and a moſt greiuous diſlocation of all the members; yea without ſubuerting the whole bodie of the State; whereby priuate perſons without number are inwrapped together in the ſame ruine: euen as the lower ſhrubs and other bruſh-wood are cruſhed in peices altogether by the fall of a great oake. But ſuppoſe his

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Lordſhips reaſon were ſomewhat ponderous and ſolide withall, yet a King (which would not be forgotten) is indowed not onely with a Kingdome, but alſo with ancient deſmenes and Crowne-lands; for which none can bee ſo ſimple to ſay, the King was ordained & created King; which neuertheleſſe he looſeth when he looſeth his Crowne. Admit againe this reaſon were of ſome pith, to make mighty Kings more eaſily depoſeable then priuate perſons from their patrimonies; yet all this makes nothing for the deriuing and fetching of depoſition from the Popes Conſiſtorie. What he neuer conferred, by what right or power can he claime to take away?

But ſee here no doubt a ſharpe and ſubtile difference put by the L. Cardinall betweene a Kingdome, and the goods of priuate perſons. *Goods*, as his Lordſh. ſaith, " *are without life: they can bee conſtrained by no force, by no example, by no inducement of their owners to looſe eternall life: Subiects by their Princes may.* Now I am of this contrary beleefe, That an hereticall owner, or maſter

of

of a family, hath greater power and means withall, to ſeduce his owne ſeruants and to poiſon the ſoules of his own children, then a Prince hath to peruert his owne ſubiects, and yet for the contagion of hereſie, and for corrupt religion, children are not remooued from their parents, nor ſeruants are taken away from their maſters. Hiſtories abound with examples of moſt flouriſhing Churches, vnder a Prince of contrary religion. And if things without life or ſoule are with leſſe danger left in an heretikes hands; why then ſhall not an hereticall King with more facility and leſſe danger keepe his Crowne, his Royall charge, his lands, his cuſtomes, his impoſts? &c. For will any man, except he be out of his wits, affirme theſe things to haue any life, or ſoule? Or why ſhall it be counted folly, to leaue a ſword in the hand of a mad Bedlam? Is not a ſword alſo without life and ſoule? For my part, I ſhould rather be of this minde, that poſſeſſion of things without reaſon, is more dangerous and pernicious in the hands of an euill Maſter, then the poſſeſſion of things in-

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duced with life and reaſon. For things without life lacke both reaſon and iudgement, how to exempt and free themſelues from beeing inſtruments in euill and wicked actions, from beeing emploied to vngodly and abhominable vſes. I will not deny, that an hereticall Prince is a plague, and a peſtilentiall infection, a pernicious and mortall ſicknes to the ſoules of his ſubiects. But a breach made by one miſcheife, muſt not be filled vp with a greater Inconuenience. An errour muſt not be ſhocked and ſhouldered with diſloyalty, nor hereſie with periury, nor impiety with ſedition and armed rebellion againſt God and the King. God, who vſeth to try and to ſchoole his Church, will neuer forſake his Church: nor hath need to protect his Church by any proditorious and prodigious practiſes of perfidious Chriſtians. For he makes his Church to bee like the burning buſh. In the middeſt of the fire and flames of perſecutions, he will prouide that ſhe ſhall not bee conſumed, becauſe he ſtādeth in the midſt of his Church. And ſuppoſe there may bee ſome iuſt cauſe

for the Frech, to play the rebels against their King; yet will it not followe, that such rebellious motions are to be raised, or such turbulent blasts to be blowne by the bellowes of the Romane Bishop; to whose Pastoral charge and office it is nothing proper, to intermeddle in the ciuill affaires of forraine Kingdomes, and to embroyle forraine States.

Here is the summe and substance of the L. Cardinals whole discourse, touching his pretence of the second Inconuenience. Which discourse he hath closed with a remarkeable confession: to wit, that neither by the authoritie of holy Scripture, nor by the testimonie and verdict of the Primitiue Church, there hath beene any full decision of this question. In regard whereof he falleth into admiration, that Lay-people haue gone so farre in audaciousnesse, as to labour that a doubtfull doctrine might for euer passe currant, and be taken for a new article of faith. *What a shame, what a reproach is this? how full of scandall?* for so his Lo dsh. is pleased to make exclamation. *This breakes into*

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the ſeueralls and incloſures of the Church: this lets in whole herds of hereſies to graſe in her greene and ſweet paſtures. On the other ſide, without any ſuch Rhetorical outcries, I ſimply, categorically, & poſitiuely affirme: It is a reproach, a ſcandall, a crime of rebellion, for a ſubiect hauing his ful charge and loade of benefits, in the new ſpring of his Kings tender age, his King-fathers blood yet reeking, and vpon the point of an addreſſe for a double match with Spaine; in ſo honourable an aſſembly, to ſeeke the thraldome of his Kings Crowne, to play the captious in cauilling about cauſes of his Kings depoſing, to giue his former life the lie with ſhame enough in his old age, and to make himſelfe a common by-word, vnder the name of a *Problematicall Martyr*; one that offers himſelfe to fagot and fire for a point of doctrine but problematically handled, that is, diſtruſtfully and onely by way of doubtfull and queſtionable diſcourſe: yea for a point of doctrine, in which the French (as he pretendeth) are permitted to thwart and croſſe his Holineſſe in iudgement, prouided they ſpeak

in the point as in a point not certaine and neceſſarie, but onely doubtfull and probable.

The third Inconuenience examined.

THE third Inconuenience pretended by the L. Cardinall to growe by admitting this Article of the third Eſtate, is
Pag. 87. « flouriſhed in theſe colours: *It would breed and*
« *bring forth an open and ineuitable ſchiſme againſt*
« *his Holineſſe, and the reſt of the whole Eccleſiaſti-*
« *call bodie. For thereby the doctrine long approoued*
« *and ratified by the Pope & the reſt of the Church,*
« *ſhould now be taxed and condemned for a doctrine*
« *of impious and moſt deteſtable conſequence; yea the*
« *Pope and the Church, euen in faith and in points of*
« *ſaluation, ſhould be reputed and beleeued to be er-*
« *roniouſly perſwaded.* Hereupon his Lordſhip giues himſelfe a large libertie and ſcope of the raines, to frame his elegant amplifications againſt ſchiſmes and ſchiſmatikes.

Now to mount ſo high, and to flie in

ſuch

ſuch place vpon the wings of amplification for this Inconuenience, what is it elſe but magnifically to report and imagine a miſcheife by many degrees greater then the miſcheife is? The L. Cardinall is in a great error, if he make himſelfe beleeue, that other nations will make a rent or ſeparation from the communion of the French, becauſe the French ſtand to it tooth and nayle, that French Crownes are not liable or obnoxious to Papall depoſition; howſoeuer there is no ſchiſme that importeh not ſeparation of communion. The moſt illuſtrious Republike of Venice, hath imbarked herſelfe in this quarrell againſt his Holineſſe, hath played her prize, and carried away the weapons with great honour. Doth ſhee (notwithſtanding her glorious and magnificall triumph in the cauſe) forbeare to participate with all her neighbours in the ſame Sacraments? doth ſhe liue in ſchiſme with all the reſt of the Romane Church? No ſuch matter. When the L. Cardinal himſelfe not many yeares paſt, maintained the Kings cauſe, and ſtood honourably for the Kings

right againſt the Popes Temporall vſurpations; did he then take other Churches to bee ſchiſmaticall, or the rotten members of Antechriſt? Beleeue it who liſt, I beleeue my Creede. Nay, his Lordſhip telleth vs himſelfe a little after; that his Holineſſe giues the French free ſcope, to maintaine either the affirmatiue or negatiue of this queſtion. And will his Holines hold them ſchiſmatikes, that diſſent from his opinion and iudgement in a ſubiect or cauſe eſteemed problematicall? Farre be it from his Holineſſe. The King of Spaine, reputed the Popes right arme, neuer gaue the Pope cauſe by any ouert act or other open declaration, to conceiue that he acknowledged himſelfe depoſeable by the Pope for hereſie, or Tyranny, or ſtupidity. But beeing well aſſured the Pope ſtandeth in greater feare of his arme, then he doth of the Popes head and ſhoulders, he neuer beats his owne braines, or troubles his owne head about our queſtion. More, when the booke of Cardinall Baronius was come forth; in which booke the Kingdome of Naples is

decried

decryed and publikely diſcredited (like falſe money) touching the qualitie of a Kingdome, and attributed to the King of Spain, not as true proprietary thereof, but onely as an Eſtate held in fee of the Roman Church; the King made no bones to prohibit, condemne, and baniſh the ſaid booke out of his dominions. The holy Father was contented to put vp his Catholike Sonnes proceeding to the Cardinalls diſgrace; neuer opened his mouth againſt the King; neuer declared or noted the King to be ſchiſmatical. Hee waits perhaps for ſome fitter opportunitie; when the Kingdome of Spaine groaning vnder the burthens of inteſtine diſſentions and troubles, he may without any danger to his triple Crowne, giue the Catholike King a Biſhops mate. Yea, the L. Cardinall himſelfe is better ſeen in the humours and inclinations of the Chriſtian world; then to be groſſely perſwaded, that in the Kingdome of Spaine, and in the very heart of Rome it ſelfe there be not many, which either make it but a ieaſt, or elſe take it in fowle ſcorne, to heare the Popes pow-

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er ouer the Crownes of Kings once named: eſpecially ſince the Venetian Republike hath put his Holineſſe to the worſe in the ſame cauſe, and caſt him in Law.

What needed the L. Cardinall then, by caſting vp ſuch mounts and trenches, by heaping one amplification vpon the backe of an other, to make ſchiſme looke with ſuch a terrible and hideous aſpect? Who knowes not how great an offence, how hainous a crime it is to quarter, not Ieſus Chriſts coat, but his bodie, which is the Church? And what needed ſuch terrifying of the Church with vglineſſe of ſchiſme, whereof there is neither colourable ſhewe, nor poſſibility?

The next vgly monſter, after ſchiſme, ſhaped by the L. Cardinall in the third ſuppoſed and pretended Inconuenience, is hereſie. His Lordſhip ſaith for the purpoſe:

Pag. 89. " *By this Article we are caſt headlong into a manifeſt hereſie, as binding vs to confeſſe, that for many ages paſt the Catholike Church hath beene baniſhed out of the whole world. For if the champions of the doctrine contrarie to this Article, doe*

hold

hold an impious and a deteſtable opinion, repugnant vnto Gods word; then doubtleſſe the Pope for ſo many hundred yeares expired, hath not beene the Head of the Church, but an heretike and the Antechriſt. He addeth moreouer; That the Church long agoe hath loſt her name of Catholike; and that in France there hath no Church flouriſhed, nor ſo much as appeared theſe many and more then many yeares: for as much as all the French Doctors for many ages together haue ſtood for the contrary opinion. Wee can erect and ſet vp no trophey more honourable for heretikes in token of their victorie, then to a vowe that Chriſts viſible Kingdome is periſhed from the face of the earth; and that for ſo many hundred yeares there hath not beene any Temple of God, nor any ſpouſe of Chriſt; but euery where, and all the world ouer, the Kingdome of Antechriſt, the Synagogue of Satan, the ſpouſe of the Deuill, hath mightily preuailed and borne all the ſway. Laſtly, what ſtronger engines can theſe heretikes wiſh or deſire, for the battering and the demoliſhing of tranſubſtantiation, of auricular confeſſion, and other like eminent towers of our Catholike religion, then if it ſhould bee granted the Church hath decided the points without any authoritie?

ritie? &c.

Me thinkes the Lord Cardinall in the whole draught and courſe of theſe words, doth ſeeke not a little to blemiſh the honour of his Church, and to marke his religion with a blacke coale. For the whole frame of his mother-Church is very eaſie to be ſhaken, if by the eſtabliſhing of this Article ſhe ſhall come to finall ruine, and ſhall become the Synagogue of Satan. Likewiſe, Kings are brought into a very miſerable ſtate and condition, if their Soueraigntie ſhall not ſtand and beare head aloft, if they ſhall not be without danger of depoſition, but by the totall ruine of the Church, and by holding the Pope, whome they ſerue, to be Antechriſt. The L. Cardinall himſelfe (let him be well ſifted) herein doth not credit his own words. For doth not his Lordſhip tell vs in good and plaine French, that neither by diuine teſtimony, nor by any ſentence of the auncient Church, the knot of this controuerſie hath been hitherto vntied? againe, that ſome of the French, by the Popes fauourable indulgence, are licenſed

cenſed or tolerated to ſay their mind, to deliuer their opinion of this queſtion, though contrary to the iudgement of his Holines; prouided they hold it onely as problematicall, and not as neceſſary? What? Can there be any aſſurance for the Pope, that he is not Antechriſt; for the Church of Rome, that ſhe is not a Synagogue of Satan; when a mans aſſurance is grounded vpon waueringand wild vncertainties, without Canon of Scripture, without conſent or countenance of antiquity, and in a cauſe which the Pope with good leaue ſuffereth ſome to toſſe with winds of problematicall opinion? It hath beene ſhewed before, that by Gods word (whereof ſmall reckoning perhaps is made in this argument, and many other waightie ſubiects) by venerable antiquitie, and by the French Church in thoſe times when the Popes power was mounted aloft, and growne to ſome degree of tranſcendencie, the doctrine which teaches depoſing of Kings by the Pope, hath beene checked and countermanded. What, did the French in thoſe dayes beleeue, the

Church was then ſwallowed vp, as with a great earthquake, and no where viſible or extant in the world? No verily. Thoſe that make the Pope of Soueraigne authoritie for matters of faith, are not perſwaded that in this cauſe they are bound abſolutely to beleeue and credit his doctrine. Why ſo? Becauſe they take it not for any decree or determination of faith; but for a point pertaining to the myſteries of State, and a pillar of the Popes Temporal Monarchy; who hath not receiued any promiſe from God, that in cauſes of this nature he ſhall not ſwerue or decline from truth to errour. For they hold, that errour by no meanes can crawle or ſcramble vp to the Papall See, ſo highly mounted; but graunt ambition can ſcale the higheſt walls, and climbe the ſoftieſt pinnacles of the ſame See. They hold withall, that in a caſe of ſo ſpeciall aduantage to the Pope, whereby he is made King of Kings, and as it were the pay-maſter or diſtributer of Crownes, it is againſt all reaſon that he ſhould ſit as Iudge to carue out Kingdomes for his owne ſhare. To be

ſhort,

ſhort, let his Lordſhip be aſſured that hee meets with notorious blockeheads, more blunt witted then a whetſtone, when they are drawne to beleeue by his perſwaſion, that whoſoeuer beleeue and firmely hold the Pope hath no right nor power to put Kings beſide their Thrones, to giue and take away Crownes, are all excluded and barred out of the heauenly Kingdome.

But now followes a worſe matter: For they whome the Cardinall reproachfully calls heretikes, haue wrought and wonne his Lordſhip (as to me ſeemeth) to plead their cauſe as it were at the barre, and to betray his owne cauſe like a Præuaricator to theſe heretikes. For what is it in his Lordſhip, but plaine playing the Præuaricator, and turning his tale, when he crieth ſo loud, that by admitting and eſtabliſhing of this Article, the doctrine of cake-incarnation and priuy Confeſſion to a Preiſt, is vtterly ſubuerted? Let vs heare his reaſon, and willingly accept of the truth from his lips. The Articles (as his Lordſhippe graunteth) of Tranſubſtantiation, auricular Confeſſion,

and the Popes power to depoſe Kings, are all grounded alike vpon the ſame authoritie. Now he hath acknowledged the Article of the Popes power to depoſe Kings, is not decided by the Scripture, nor by the auncient Church; but onely auerred, within the compaſſe of certaine ages paſt, by the authority of Popes and Councils. Then hee goes on well, and inferres with good reaſon, that in caſe the point of the Popes power be weakned, then the other two points muſt needs be ſhaken, and eaſily ouerthrowne. So that he doth confeſſe the monſtrous birth of the breaden-God, and the blind Sacrament or vaine phantaſie of auricular confeſſion, are no more conueied into the Church by pipes from the ſprings of ſacred Scripture, or from the riuers of the auncient Church, then that other point of the Popes power ouer Kings and their Crownes. Very good: For were they indeede deriued from either of thoſe two heads, that is to ſay, were they grounded vpon the rockie foundation of the firſt or ſecond authoritie; then they could neuer be

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ſhaken by the downfall of the Popes power to depoſe Kings. I am well aſſured, that for vſing ſo good and fauourable a reaſon of euen compariſon, the world will hold his Lordſhippe in ſuſpition, that he ſtill retaineth ſome ſmacke and reliſh of his fathers diſcipline and inſtruction, who in times paſt had the honour to be a worthy Miniſter of the holy Goſpel.

Howbeit he playeth not faire, nor vſeth ſincere dealing in his proceeding againſt ſuch as he calls heretikes; when he caſts in their diſh, and beares them in hand they frowardly wrangle for the inuiſibilitie of the Church in earth. For indeed the matter is nothing ſo. They freely acknowledge a viſible Church. For howſoeuer the aſſembly of Gods elect, doth make a bodie not diſcernable by mans eie: yet we aſſuredly beleeue, and gladly profeſſe, there neuer wanted a viſible Church in the world; yet onely viſible to ſuch as make a part of the ſame. All that are without ſee no more but naturall men; they doe not ſee the ſaid men to be ſpirituall, faithfull, and the true

Church.

Church. We beleeue moreouer of the Vniuerſall Church viſible, that it is compoſed of many particular Churches, whereof ſome are better fined, more purged & cleanſed from the dregges of corrupt doctrine, and from the lees of blind ſuperſtition, then many other Churches: and withall, we deny the pureſt Churches to be alwaies the greateſt and moſt viſible.

The fourth and laſt Inconuenience examined.

THE Lord Cardinall before hee looketh into the laſt Inconuenience, vſeth a certaine preamble of his owne life paſt, and ſeruices done to the Kings, Henry the III. & IIII. Touching the latter of which two Kings, his Lordſh. braues it in a ſtraine of boaſting, after this manner: "*I, by the grace of God, or the grace of God by me rather, haue reduced him to the Catholike religion. I obtained at Rome his abſolution of Pope Clement 8. I reconciled him to the holy See.* Touching the firſt

of

of theſe points; I ſay the time, the occaſions, and the foreſaid Kings neceſſarie affaires doe ſufficiently teſtifie, that he was induced to play *the Ripſaſpis*, to caſt away the ſheild of his firſt faith, like that Knight Bourbon in the Faerie Queene, to change his mind, and to alter his religion, vpon the ſtrength of other manner of arguments then Theologicall ſchooles, or the perſwaſions of the L. Cardinals fluent Rhetoricke, doe vſually affoard, or could poſſibly ſuggeſt. Moreouer, who doth not know, that in affaires of ſo high nature & conſequence, reſolutions once taken, Princes are to proceed with inſtructions according to formality, or by a formall courſe? As for the Kings abſolution, pretended to be purchaſed of Clement 8. by the L. Cardinals good ſeruice; it had been the part of ſo great a Cardinall, for the honour of his King, of the Realme, and of his owne place, to haue buried that peice of his notable ſeruice in perpetuall ſilence, and in the darke night of eternall obliuion. For in this matter of reconcilement, it is not vnknowne to the

world, how ſhamefully and baſely he hath proſtituted the moſt ſacred and inuiolable dignity of his King, when his Lordſhip repreſenting the perſon of his King, and couching on the ground, by way of formall and ſufficient penance, was glad (as I haue noted in the Preface to my Apologie) to haue his venerable ſhoulders gracefully ſaluted with ſtripes, and reuerently worſhipped with mock-baſtonados of a Pontificiall cudgell. Which gracefull, or diſgracefull blemiſh rather, it pleaſed Pope Clement of his rare clemency, to grace yet with a higher degree of ſpirituall graces: in giuing the L. Cardinall then Biſhop of Eureux, a certaine quantity of holy graines, croſſes, and medals, or little plates of ſiluer or ſome other mettall, to hang about the necke, or to be borne about as amulats againſt ſome dangerous euill. Which treaſures of the Popes grace, whoſoeuer ſhould graciouſly and reuerently kiſſe, they ſhould without faile purchaſe vnto themſelues an indulgent pardon for one hundred yeares. Theſe feate and prety gugawes for children, were

no doubt a ſpeciall comfort vnto the good Kings heart, after his Maieſtie had beene handſomely baſted vpon the L. Biſhops backe. But with what face can his Lordſhip brag, that he preuailed with Pope Clement for the Kings abſolution? The late Duke of Neuers, not long before had ſolicited his Holineſſe, with all earneſt and humble inſtance to the ſame purpoſe; howſoeuer, the Kings affaires then ſeeming deſperate in the Popes eye, the noble Duke was licenſed to depart for France, without any due & gracious reſpect vnto his errand. But ſo ſoone as the Pope receiued intelligence, of the Kings fortunes growing to the full, and the affaires of the League to be in the wane; and the principall cities, the ſtrongeſt places of garriſon, through all France to ſtrike tops and tops gallant, and to hale the King; then the holy Ghoſt in good time inſpired the holy Father with a holy deſire and tender affection, to receiue this poore wandring ſheep againe into the flock of Chriſt, and boſome of holy Church. His Holineſſe had reaſon. For he feared by his

obſtinate ſeueritie to prouoke the patience of the French, and to driue that Nation (as they had many times threatned before) thē to put in execution their auncient deſigne; which was, to ſhake off the Pope, and to ſet vp ſome of their owne tribes or kinreds for Patriarch ouer the French Church. But let his Lordſhippe vouchſafe to ſearch the ſecret of his owne boſome; and no doubt hee will not ſticke to acknowledge, that before he ſtirred one foote out of France, hee had good aſſurance of the good ſucceſſe and iſſue of his honourable embaſſage.

Now the hearers thus prepared by his artificiall Preface, the Lord Cardinall proceedeth in his purpoſe, namely to make proofe, how this Article of the third Eſtate, (wherin doubtfull and queſtionable matters are mingled and confounded with certen and indubitable principles,) doth ſo debilitate and weaken the ſinewes and vertue of any remedie intended for the danger of Kings, as it makes all remedies and receipts preſcribed for that purpoſe, to become altogether vnprofitable, and without effect. He

yeelds

yeelds this reaſon, (take it forſooth vpon my warrant) a reaſon full of pith and ſubſtance: The only remedy againſt parricides, is to thunder the ſolemne curſes of the Church, and the puniſhments to be inflicted after death: which points, if they bee not grounded vpon infallible authority, will neuer be ſetled in mens perſwaſions with any certaine aſſurance. Now in the ſolemne curſes of the Church, no man can attaine to the ſaid aſſurance, if things not denied be mingled with points not graunted, and not conſented vnto by the Vniuerſall Church. By a thing not denied and not conteſted, the L. Cardinall meanes prohibiting and condemning of King-killing: and by points conteſted, he meanes denying of the Popes power to depoſe Kings.

In this whole diſcourſe, I find neither pith of argument, nor direct courſe of ſound proofe; but onely a caſt of the L. Cardinalls office by way of counſell: whereunto I make this anſwer. If there be in this Article of the third Eſtate any point whatſoeuer, wherein all are not of one mind and

of the ſame iudgement; in whome lies all the blame; from whence riſes the doubt, but from the Popes and Popiſh paraſites; by whome the certainty and infallibilitie of the ſaid point hath been cunningly remooued and conueied out of ſight, and muſt be reſtored againe by publike authoritie? Now the way to reſtore certaintie vnto a point, which againſt reaſon is called into doubt and queſtion, is to make it vp in one maſſe, or to tie it vp in the ſame bundle, with other certaine points of the ſame nature.

Here I am forced to ſummon the conſciences of men, to make ſome ſtand or ſtay vpon this point; and with me to enter into deepe conſideration, how great and vnvanquiſhable force is euer found in the truth. For theſe two queſtions, Whether Kings may lawfully be made away by aſſaſſins waged and hired for the deteſtable act; and, Whether the Pope hath lawfull power to chaſe Kings out of their Thrones; are by the L. Cardinalls owne confeſſion, in ſo full aſpect of coniunction, that if either bee brought vnder any degree of doubt, the o-

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ther alſo is fetcht within the ſame compaſſe. In which words he directly pointeth as with a finger, to the very true ſource of the maine miſcheife, and to the baſilique & liuer veine, infected with peſtilential blood, inflamed to the deſtruction of Baſilicall Princes by deteſtable parricide. For whoſoeuer ſhall confidently beleeue that Popes are not armed with power to depoſe Kings; will beleeue with no leſſe confidence and aſſurance, it is not lawfull by ſudden aſſaults and aſſaſſinats to flie at their throats. For are not all deſperate villaines perſwaded, when they are hired and wagered, or feed to murther Kings, that in acting ſo damnable a feate, they doe it for a peice of prime, notable, and extraordinarie ſeruice to the Pope? This maxime therfore is to be held for a principle vnmooueable and indubitable; that, If ſubiects deſire the life of their Kings to be ſecured; they muſt not yeeld the Pope one inch of power to depriue their Kings of their Thrones and Crownes, by depoſing their Kings.

The Lord Cardinall teſtifieth no leſſe him-

« himſelfe in theſe words: *If thoſe monſters of*
« *men, and furies of hell, by whom the life-blood of*
« *our two laſt Kings was exhauſted, had euer been ac-*
« *quainted with Lawes Eccleſiaſticall; they might*
« *haue read themſelues adiudged by the Councill of*
Conſtance to expreſſe damnation. For in theſe words, the L. Cardinal preferres a bill of inditement to caſt his Holineſſe: who, vpon the commencing of the Leaguers warres, in ſtead of giuing order for the publiſhing of the ſaid Eccleſiaſticall Lawes for the reſtraining of all parricidicall practiſes and attempts, fell to the terrour of his fulminations; which not long after were ſeconded and ratified by the moſt audacious and bloody murder of King Henry III. In like manner, the whole Clergie of France are wrapped vp by the L. Cardinals words, and inuolued in the perill of the ſaid inditement. For in ſtead of preaching the ſaid Eccleſiaſticall Lawes, by which all King-killing is inhibited, the Prieſts taught, vented, and publiſhed nothing but rebellion: and when the people in great deuotion came to powre their confeſſions into the Prieſts

eares;

eares, then the Preists, with a kind of counterbuffe when their turne came to act, and with greater deuotion, powred blood into the eares of the people: out of which root grew the terrour of those cruell warres, and the horrible parricide of that good King.

But let vs here take some neere sight of these Ecclesiasticall Lawes, whereby subiects are inhibited to kill, or desperately to dispatch their Kings out of the way. The L. Cardinall, for full payment of all scores vpon this reckoning, layes downe the credit of the Council at Constance; which neuertheless affoardeth not one mite of true and currant payment. The truth of the history may be taken from this breife relation. Iohn Duke of Burgundy, procured Lewis Duke of Orleans to be murthered in Paris. To iustifie and make good this bloody act, he produced a certame peti-master, one called by the name of Iohn Petit. This little Iohn caused nine propositions to be giuen forth and set vp in publike, to be discussed in the famous Vniuersitie of Paris. The summe of all to this purpose: It is law-

full, iuſt, and honourable, for euery ſubiect or priuate perſon, either by open force and violence, or by deceitfull practiſe and ſecret lying in wait, or by ſome witty ſtratagem, or by any other way of fact, to kill a Tyrant practiſing againſt his King and other higher powers: yea the King ought in reaſon, to giue the actor of ſuch ſeruice a penſion or ſtipend, as to a man that hath killed a perſon diſloyall to his Prince. The words of Petits firſt propoſition be theſe: *It is lawfull for euery ſubiect, (without commaund or commiſſion from the higher powers) by all the Lawes of nature, of man, and of God himſelfe, to kill or cauſe to be killed any Tyrant, who either by a couetous and greedie deſire, or by fraud, by diuination vpon caſting of lots, by double and treacherous dealing, doth plot or practiſe againſt his Kings corporall health, or the health of his higher powers.* In the third propoſition: *It is lawfull for euery ſubiect, honourable and meritorious, to kill the ſaid Tyrant, or cauſe him to bee killed as a Traitor, diſloyall and treacherous to his King.* In the ſixt propoſition: *The King is to appoint a ſalarie and recompence for him that hath killed ſuch a Tyrant, or*

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hath cauſed him to be killed. Theſe propoſitions of Iohannes Parvus, were condemned by the Councill of Conſtance, as impious, and tending to the ſcandall of the Church. Now then, whereas the ſaid Councill no doubt vnderſtood the name or word Tyrant in the ſame ſenſe, wherein it was taken by Iohannes Parvus; certaine it is, the Councill was not of this iudgement or mind, to condemne a man that ſhould kill a King or Soueraigne Prince; but one that by treaſon, and without valable commiſſion ſhould kill a ſubiect, rebelling and practiſing againſt his King. For Iohn Petit had vndertaken to iuſtifie the making away and ſlaughtering of the Duke of Orleans to bee a lawfull act; and calls that Duke a Tyrant, albeit he was no Soueraigne Prince; as all the aboue recited words of Iohn Petit doe teſtifie, that he ſpeakes of ſuch a Tyrant, as beeing in ſtate of ſubiection rebelleth againſt his liege Lord, a free and abſolute Prince. So that whoſoeuer ſhall narrowly ſearch and looke into the minde and meaning of the ſaid Councill, ſhall eaſily per-

ceiue; that by their decrees the ſafetie of Kings was not confirmed but weakened, not corroborated but made more looſer in euery ioynt: for as much as they inhibited priuate perſons to kill a ſubiect, attempting by wicked counſells and practiſes to make away his King.

But be it graunted, the Councill of Conſtance is flat and altogether direct againſt King-killers. For I am not vnwilling to bee perſwaded, that had the queſtion then touched the murdering of Soueraigne Princes, the ſaid Councill would haue paſſed a ſound and ſacred decree. But, I ſay, this graunted, what a ſheild of defence is hereby reached to Kings, to ward or beat off the thruſts of a murderers weapon, and to ſaue or ſecure their life? ſeeing the L. Cardinall, building vpon the ſubtile deuiſe and ſhift of the Ieſuites, hath taught vs out of their Schooles; that by Kings are vnderſtood Kings in *eſſe*, not yet fallen from the ſupreame degree of Soueraigne Royaltie. For beeing once depoſed by the Pope, (ſay the Ieſuites) they are no longer Kings, but

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are fallen from the rights of Soueraign dignity; and conſequently to make ſtrip and waſt of their blood, is not forſooth to make ſtrip and waſt of Royall blood. Theſe Ieſuiticall maſters, in the file of their cunning ſpeech and words, are ſo ſupple and ſo limber, that by leauing ſtil in their ſpeech ſome ſtarting hole or other, they are able by the ſame, as by a poſterne or backe-doore, to make an eſcape.

Meane while the Readers are here to note (for well they may) a tricke of egregious, monſtrous, and moſt wicked cunning. The L. Cardinall contends for the bridling and hampering of King-killers by the Lawes Eccleſiaſticall. Now it might be preſumed, that ſo reuerend and learned a Cardinall intending to make vſe of Eccleſiaſticall laws, (by vertue whereof the life of Kings might be ſecured,) would haue ſtuffed his mouth, and garniſhed the point with diuine Oracles; that we might the more gladly and willingly giue him the hearing, when he ſpeakes as one furniſhed with ſufficient weight and authority of ſa-

cred Scripture. But behold; inſtead of the authenticall and moſt auncient word, hee propounds the decree of a late-borne Councill at Conſtance, neither for the Popes tooth, nor any way comming neere the point in controuerſie. And ſuppoſe it were pertinent vnto the purpoſe; yet behold againe, the L. Cardinall beareth in his hand a forke of diſtinction, with two tines or teeth to beare off, yea to ſhift off and to auoid the matter with meere dalliance. The ſhorteſt and neereſt way (in ſome ſort of reſpects) to eſtabliſh a falſe opinion, is to charge or ſet vpon the ſame with falſe and ridiculous reaſons. The like way to worke the ouerthrow of true doctrine, is to reſt or ground the ſame vpon friuolous reaſons or authorities of ſtubble-weight. For example; if we ſhould thus argue for the immortality of the ſoule with Plato: The ſwan ſings before her death; *ergo*, the ſoule is immortall. Or thus with certaine blind and ſeduced Chriſtians: The Pope hath ordained the word of God to be authenticall: *ergo*, all credit muſt be giuen to diuine Scripture. Vp-

In Phædone.

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on the ſpurkies or hookes of ſuch ridiculous arguments and friuolous reaſons, the L. Cardinall hangs the life and ſafety of Kings.

With like artificiall deuiſes he pretends to haue the infamous murders, and appoſted cutting of Kings throats in extream deteſtation; and yet by depoſing them from their Princely dignities, by degrading them from their ſupreme and Soueraigne authorites, he brings their ſacred Heads to the butchers blocke. For a King depoſed by the Pope, (let no man doubt) will not leaue any ſtone vnremooued, nor any meanes and wayes vnattempted, nor any forces or powers of men vnleuied or vnhired, to defend himſelfe, and his Regall dignity, to repreſſe and bring vnder his rebellious people, by the Pope diſcharged of their allegiance. In this perplexity of the publike affaires, in theſe tempeſtuous perturbations of the State, with what perills is the King not violently toſſed, fiercely beſieged, and furiouſly aſſaulted? His head is expoſed to the changeable chances of warre; his life a

faire

faire marke to the insidious practises of a thousand traytors; his Royall person obuious to the dreadfull stormes of angry fortune, to the deadly malice, to the fatall and mortall weapons of his enemies. The reason: He is presupposed to be lawfully and orderly stripped of his Kingdome. What, will he yet hold the sterne of his Royall estate? Then is he necessarily taken for a Tyrant, reputed an vsurper, and his life is exposed to the spoyle. For the publike lawes make it lawfull and free, for any priuate person to enterprise against an vsurper of the Kingdome: *Euery man*, saith Tertullian, *is a souldier inrowled, to beare armes against all Traytors and publike enemies.* Take from a King the title of lawfull King, you take from him the warrant of his life, and the weapons whereby hee is maintained in greater security, then by his Royall Guard armed with swords and halbards; through whose wards and rankes, a desperate villaine will soone make himselfe an easie passage; beeing master of an other mans life, because he is prodigall and careless of his

In reos Maiestatis, & publicos hostes omnis homo miles est. Ter. apol. cap. 2.

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owne. Such therefore as pretend ſo much pittie towards Kings, to abhorre the bloody opening of their liuer-veine, and yet withall to approoue their hoiſting out of the Royall dignitie, are iuſt in the vaine and humour of thoſe that perfidiouſly and ridiculouſly ſay, Let vs not kill the King, but let vs diſarme the King that he may die a violent death: let vs not deprriue the King of life, but of the meanes to defend his life: let vs not ſtrangle the King and ſtoppe his vitall breath, ſo long as he remaineth King. O that were impious, O that were horrible and abhominable; but let him be depoſed, and then whoſoeuer ſhall runne him through the bodie with a weapon vp to the verie hilts, ſhall not beare the guilt of a King-killer. All this muſt be vnderſtood to be ſpoken of Kings, who after they are diſpoyled of Regalitie, by ſentence of depoſition giuen by the Pope, are able to arme themſelues, and by valiant armes doe defend their Soueraigne rights.

But in caſe the King, blaſted with Romane lightning, and ſtricken with Papall

thunder, ſhall actually and ſpeedily bee ſmitten downe from his high Throne of Regalitie, with preſent loſſe of his Kingdome; I beleeue it is almoſt impoſſible for him to warrant his owne life, who was not able to warrant his owne Kingdome. Let a cat be throwne from an high ſollar to the bottome of a cellour or vault, ſhe lights on her feete, and runnes away preſently without any harme. A King is not like a cat, howſoeuer a catte may looke vpon a King: he cannot fall from the loftie pinnacle of Royaltie, to light on his feete vpon the hard pauement of priuate eſtate, without cruſhing all his bones in peices. It hath been the lot of very few Emperours and Kings, to out-liue their Empire. For men aſcend to the lofty Throne of Kings, with a ſoft and eaſie pace, by certaine Politicall ſteps and State-full degrees; there bee no ſtately ſtaires to come downe, they tumble head and heels together when they fall. He that hath once griped another's Kingdome, thinkes himſelfe in little ſafetie, for long as he ſhall of his courteſie ſuffer his diſſeiſed

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predeceſſor to drawe his breath. And ſay that ſome Princes, after their fall from their Thrones, haue eſcaped both point and edge of the Tyrants weapon to the ſauing of their life; yet haue they wandred like miſerable fugitiues in forraine countryes; or elſe haue beene condemned like captiues to perpetuall impriſonment at home; a thouſandfold worſe & more lamentable then death it ſelfe. Dyoniſius the Tyrant of Syracuſa, from a great King in Sicilie turn'd Schoolemaſter in Corinth. It was the onely calling and kind of life, which, as he thought, bearing ſome reſemblance of rule and gouernment, might recreate his mind, as an image or picture of his former Soueraignitie ouer men. This Dyoniſius was the onely man (to my knowledge) that had a humour to laugh after the loſſe of a Kingdome, and in the ſtate of a Pedant or gouernour of children, to make a kind of merrie ieaſt and ſcorne at his former ſtate and condition of a King. In this my Kingdome of England, ſundry Kings haue ſeene the walls as it were of their Princely fortreſſe diſmantled, razed,

and beaten downe. By name, Edward and Richard, both II. and Henry VI. all which Kings were moſt cruelly murdered in priſon. In the raigne of Edward III. by act of Parlement, whoſoeuer ſhall imagine, (that is the very word of the Statute) or machinate the Kings death, are declared guiltie of rebellion and high treaſon. The graue and learned Iudges of the Land, grounding vpon this law of Edward the third, haue euer ſince reputed and iudged them traytors according to Law, that haue dared onely to whiſper or talke ſoftly betweene the teeth, of depoſing the King. For they count it a cleare caſe, like one of their authenticall reports or booke-caſes, that no Crowne can be taken from a Kings head, without loſſe of Head and Crowne together, ſooner or later.

The L. Cardinall therefore in this moſt weighty and ſerious point doth meerely dally, and flowt after a ſort, when he tells vs, *The Church doth not intermeddle with releaſing of ſubiects, and knocking off their reins of obedience, but onely before the Eccleſiaſticall tribu-*

Pag. 95.

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nall ſeate; and that beſide this double cenſure, of abſolution to ſubiects, and excommunication to the Prince, the Church impoſeth none other penaltie. Vnder pretence of which two cenſures, ſo farre is the Church (as the L. Cardinal pretendeth) *from conſenting that any man ſo cenſured ſhould bee touched for his life, that ſhee vtterly abhorreth all murder whatſoeuer; but eſpecially all ſudden and vnprepeneed murders, for feare of caſting away both body and ſoule; which often in ſudden murders goe both one way.* It hath been cleerly ſhewed and made manifeſt before, that all ſuch proſcription and ſetting forth of Kings to port-ſale, hath alwaies for the traine thereof, either ſome violent and bloody death, or ſome other miſcheife more intolerable then death it ſelfe. What are we the better, that parricides of Kings are neither heartned and ſet on, nor approoued and borne out by the Church in their abhominable actions, when ſhe layeth ſuch plots, and taketh ſuch courſes, as neceſſarily doe inferre the cutting of Kings throates? In the next place be it noted, that his Lordſhip againſt all reaſon, reckons the abſoluing of

ſubiects from the oath of allegiance, in the ranke of penalties awarded and enioyned before the Eccleſiaſticall tribunall ſeate. For this penaltie is not Eccleſiaſticall, but meerly Ciuill, and conſequently not triable in Eccleſiaſticall Courts, without vſurping vpon the ciuill Magiſtrate. But I wonder with what face the Lord Cardinall can ſay, the Church neuer conſenteth to any practiſe againſt his life, whom ſhe hath once chaſtiſed with ſeuere cenſures. For can his Lordſhip be ignorant, what is written by Pope Vrbanus, *Can. Excommunicatorum. We take them not in any wiſe to be man-ſlayers, who in a certaine heate of zeale towards he Catholike Church their Mother, ſhall happen to kill an excommunicate perſon.* More, if the Pope doth not approoue and like the practiſe of King-killing, wherefore hath not his Holines impoſed ſome ſeuere cenſure with a fearefull frowne vpon the book of Mariana the Ieſuite (by whom parricides are commended, nay highly extolled) when his Holines hath been pleaſed to take the paines, to cenſure and call in ſome other of Mariana's

Can. excom. Cauſ. 23. Queſt. 6.

bookes?

bookes? Againe, wherefore did his Holines aduiſe himſelfe, to cenſure the decree of the Court of Parlement in Paris againſt Iohn Chaſtell? Wherefore did he ſuffer Garnet and Oldcorne my powder-miners, both by bookes and pictures vendible vnder his noſe in Rome, to be inrowled in the Canon of holy Martyrs? And when he ſaw two great Kings murdered one after an other; wherefore by ſome publike declaration did not his Holineſſe teſtifie to all Chriſtendome, his inward ſenſe and true apprehenſion of ſo great misfortune, as all Europe had iuſt cauſe to lament on the behalfe of France? Wherefore did not his Holineſſe publiſh ſome Lawe or Pontificiall decree, to prouide for the ſecurity of Kings in time to come? True it is that he cenſured Becanus his booke. But wherefore? That by a captious and fleight cenſure, he might preuent a more exact and rigorous decree of the Sorbon Schoole. For the Popes checke to Becanus, was onely a generall cenſure and touch, without any particular ſpecification of matter touching the life of Kings. About

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ſome two moneths after, the ſaid booke was printed againe, with a ſmooth dedicatorie to the Popes Nuntio in Germany; yet without any alteration, ſaue onely of two articles containing the abſolute power of the people ouer Kings. For a counterchecke and poore amends whereof, three or fowre articles were inſerted into the ſaid booke, touching the Popes power ouer Kings; articles no leſſe wicked and iniurious to Regall rights; nay more iniurious then any of the other clauſes, whereof iuſt cauſe of exception and complaint had been giuen before. If I would collect and heape vp examples of auncient Emperours, (as of Henry IV. whoſe dead corps felt the rage and fury of the Pope; or of Frederic 2. againſt whom the Pope was not aſhamed to whet and kindle the Sultane; or of Queen Elizabeth our Predeceſſour, of glorious memory, whoſe life was diuers times aſſaulted by priuy murderers, expreſſely diſpatched from Rome for that holy ſeruice) if I would gather vp other examples of the ſame claſſe or ſtampe, which I haue laid forth in my

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Apology for the oath of allegiance; I could make it more cleare then day-light, how farre the L. Cardinals words are discrepant from the truth; where his Lordship out of most rare confidence is bold to avowe. *That neuer any Pope went so farre, as to giue consent or counsell for the desperate murdering of Princes.* That which already hath been alleadged may suffice to conuince his Lordship: I meane, that his Holinesse by deposing of Kings, doth lead them directly to their dolefull graues and tombes. *Pag.97.*

The Cardinal himselfe seemes to take some notice hereof. *The Church* (as he speaks) *abhorreth sudden and vnprepensed murders aboue the rest.* Doth not his Lordship in this phrase of speech acknowledge, that murders committed by open force, are not so much disavowed or disclaimed by the Church? A little after he speaks not in the teeth, as before, but with full and open mouth like a crier of Proclamations; that he doth not dislike a King once deposed by the Pope, should be pursued with open warre. Whereupon it followes, that in warre the King may be *Pag.95.*

lawfully ſlaine and purſued to a violent death. No doubt a remarkeable degree of his Lordſhips clemencie. A King belike ſhall be better entreated and more mildly dealt withall, if he be ſlaine by the ſhot of an harquebuſe or caleeuer in the field, then if hee be ſtabd by the ſtroke or thruſt of a knife in his priuy chamber: or if at a ſiege of ſome city he be blowne vp with a myne, then by a myne made, and a traine of gunpowder laid vnder his Palace or Parliament houſe in time of peace. His reaſon: Forſooth, becauſe in ſudden murders, oftentimes the ſoule and the body periſh both together. O ſingular bounty, and rare clemency! prouokers, inſtigators, ſtrong puffers and blowers of parricides, in mercifull compaſſion of the ſoule, become vnmercifull and ſhamefull murderers of the body. This deuice may well claime and challenge kinred of Mariana the Ieſuites inuention as couſin germane to the ſame. For he likes not at any hand the poiſoning of a Tyrant by his meate or drinke, for feare leaſt he taking the poiſon with his owne hand, and ſwallow-

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ing or gulping it downe in his meat or drinke ſo taken, ſhould be found *felo de ſe*, (as the common Lawyer ſpeaks) or culpable of his owne death. But Mariana likes better, to haue a Tyrant poyſoned by his chaire, or by his apparell and robes, after the example of the Mauritanian Kings; that beeing ſo poyſoned onely by ſent, or by contact, he may not be found guilty of ſelfe-fellony, and the ſoule of the poore Tyrant in her flight out of the body may be innocent of the fact. O hell-hounds, O diabolicall wretches, O infernall monſters! Did they onely ſuſpect and imagine, that either in Kings themſelues there is any remainder of Kingly courage, or in their ſubiects any ſparke left of auncient liberty; they durſt as ſoone eate their nayles, or teare their owne fleſh frō the bones, as once broach the veſſel of this Diabolicall deuice. How long then, how long ſhall Kings whom the Lord hath called his Anointed, Kings the breathing images of God vpon earth; Kings that with a wry or frowning looke, are able to cruſh theſe earth-wormes in peices; how

long ſhall they ſuffer this viperous brood, ſcot-free and without puniſhment, to ſpit in their faces? how long, the Maieſtie of God in their perſon and Royall Maieſtie to bee ſo notoriouſly vilified, ſo diſhonourably trampled vnder foote?

The L. Cardinall bourds vs againe with a like manifeſt ieaſt, and notably trifles in a ſerious cauſe: firſt, diſtinguiſhing betweene Tyrants by adminiſtration, and Tyrants by vſurpation; then ſhewing that he by no meanes doth approoue thoſe prophane and heathenish Lawes, whereby ſecret practiſes and conſpiracies againſt a Tyrant by adminiſtration are permitted. His reaſon. *Becauſe after depoſition there is a certaine habitude to Royall dignitie, and as it were a kind of politicke character inherent in Kings; by which they are diſcerned from perſons meerely priuate, or the common ſort of people; and the obſtacle, croſſe-barre, or ſparre once remooued and taken out of the way, the ſaid Kings depoſed are at length reinueſted and endowed againe with lawfull vſe of Royall dignitie, and with lawfull adminiſtration of the Kingdome.* Is it poſſible that his Lordſhip can ſpeake

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and vtter theſe words according to the inward perſwaſions of his heart? I beleeue it not. For admit a King caſt out of his Kingdome were ſure to eſcape with life; yet beeing once reduced to a priuate ſtate of life (after he hath wound and wrought himſelfe out of deadly danger) ſo farre he is from holding or retayning any remainder of dignity or politike impreſſion; that on the contrary he falleth into greater contempt and miſery, then if he had beene a very peaſant by birth, and had neuer held or gouerned the ſterne of Royall eſtate. What fowle is more beautifull then the peacocke? Let her be plumed and bereft of her feathers; what owle, what iacke-daw more ridiculous, more without all pleaſing aſpect or ſhape? The homely ſowter, the infamous catchpol, the baſe tincker, the rude artificer, the pack-horſe-porter, then liuing in Rome with liberty, when Valentinian was detaind captiue by Saporas the Perſian King, was more happy then that great Romane Emperour. And in caſe the Lord Cardinall himſelfe ſhould be ſo hap-

py (I should say so vnfortunate) to be stript of all his dignities and Ecclesiasticall promotions; would it not redound to his Lordships wonderfull consolation, that in his greatest extremitie, in the lowest degree of his bareneſſe and nakedneſſe, he still retaineth a certaine habituall right and character of a Cardinall, whereby to recouer the losse of his former Ecclesiasticall dignities and honours? when hee beholds these prints and impressions of his foresaid honours, would it not make him the more willing and glad, to forsake the backe of his venerable mule, to vse his Cardinals foot-cloath and caroch no longer, but euer after like a Cardinall in print and character, to march and trot on his bare feet?

But let vs examine his Lordships consolation of Kings, thrust out of their Kingdomes by the Pope for heresie. *The obstacle* (as the L. Cardinall speaketh) *beeing taken away*; that is to say, when the King shall be reformed, *this habituall right and character yet inherent in the person of a King, restores him to the lawfull administration of his Kingdome.* I take

this

this to be but a cold comfort. For here his Lordſhip doth onely preſuppoſe, and not prooue, that after a King is thruſt out of his Throne, when he ſhal repent and turne true Romane Catholike, the other by whom he hath beene caſt out, and by force diſſeiſed, will recall him to the Royall ſeate, and faithfully ſettle him againe in his auncient right, as one that reioyceth for the recouery of ſuch a loſt ſheep. But I ſhould rather feare, the new King would mainely preſſe and ſtand out for his new poſſeſſion vpon other tearmes; as namely vpon ſome terme of yeeres for a trial; whether the repentance of the King diſplaced be true and ſound to the coare, or counterfeit, diſſembled, and painted holines; for the ſubmiſſiue ſpeeches, the ſorrowfull and heauy lookes, the ſadde and formall geſtures, of men pretending repentance, are not alwaies to be taken *de bon alloy*, not alwaies to be reſpected, not alwaies to be credited. Againe, I ſhould feare the afflicted King might be charged, and borne downe too, that albeit hee hath renounced his former hereſie, yet hee hath

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ſtumbled ſince at an other ſtone, and runne the ſhip of his faith againſt ſome other rock of new hereticall prauitie. Or I ſhould yet feare, he might be made to beleeue, that hereſie makes a deeper impreſſion, and a character more indeleble in the perſon, then is the other politike character of Regall Maieſtie. Alas, good Kings! in how hard, in how miſerable a ſtate doe they ſtand? Once depoſed, and euer after barred of repentance. As if the ſcapes and errors of Kings, were all ſinnes againſt the Holy Ghoſt, or ſinnes vnto death, for which it is not lawfull to pray. Falls a priuate perſon? he may bee ſet vp againe, he may be reſtored and new eſtabliſhed. Fals a King? is a King depoſed? his repentance is euer fruitleſſe, euer vnprofitable. Hath a priuate perſon a traine of ſeruants? He cannot be depriued of any one without his priuitie and conſent. Hath a King millions of ſubiects? He may bee depriued by the Pope of a third part, when his Holineſſe will haue them turne Clerics or enter cloiſters, without asking the King leaue: and ſo of ſubiects and *Ammi*, they

may

may bee made non-ſubiects and *Lo-Ammi*.

But I queſtion yet further. A King falling into hereſie, is depoſed by the Pope; his ſonne ſtands pure Catholike. The Regall ſeate is empty. Who ſhall ſucceed in the depoſed Kings place? What ſhall a ſtranger be preferred by the Pope? That were to doe the innocent ſonne egregious and notorious wrong. Shall the ſonne himſelfe? That were a more iniurious part in the ſon againſt his father. For if the ſonne be touched with any feare of God, or mooued with any reuerence towards his Father, he will diligently, ſeriouſly, and by all pious meanes take heed, that he put not his Father by the Kingdome, by whoſe meanes he himſelfe is borne to the Crowne. Nor will he tread in the ſteps of Henry the V. Emperour, who by the Popes inſtigation, expelled and chaſed his aged father out of the Imperiall dignity. Much leſſe will he hearken to the voice and aduiſe of Doctor Suares the Ieſuite, who, in his booke written againſt my ſelfe, (a booke applauded and approoued of many Doctors,) after he

hath like a Doctor of the chaire, pronounced, *That a King deposed by the Pope, cannot bee lawfully expelled or killed, but onely by such as the Pope hath charged with such execution*: falls to adde a little after: *If the Pope shall declare a King to be an heretike, and fallen from the Kingdome, without making further declaration touching execution*, that is to say, without giuing expresse charge vnto any one or more by speciall nomination or Commission to make away the King: *then the lawfull successour beeing a Catholike, hath power to doe the feate; and if he shall refuse, or if there shall bee none such, then it appertaines to the communaltie or body of the Kingdome.* A most detestable position. For in hereditary Kingdoms, who is the Kings lawfull successor, but his naturall sonne? The sonne then by this doctrine, shall imbrew his hands in his owne fathers blood, so soone as he shall be deposed by the Pope. A matter so much the neerer and more deeply to be apprehended in my particular, because the said most outragious booke flyeth like a furious mastiffe directly at my throat, and withal infilleth such precepts into the ten-

Lib. 6. cap. 4. Si papa Regem deponat, ab illis tantum poterit, expelli vel interfici, quibus ipse id commiserit.

der

der diſpoſition of my ſonne, as if hereafter he ſhall become a Romane Catholike, ſo ſoone as the Pope ſhall giue me the lift out of my Throne, ſhall bind him forthwith to make effuſion of his owne fathers blood. Such is the religion of theſe Reuerend Fathers, the pillars of the Pontificiall Monarchy. In compariſon of whoſe religion and holines, all the impiety that euer was practiſed among the Infidels, and all the barbarous cruelty that euer was perpetrated among the Canibals, may paſſe henceforth in the Chriſtian world for pure clemency and humanity. Theſe things ought his Lordſhip to haue pondered, rather then to babble of habitudes and politike characters; which to the common people are like the Bergamaſque Idiome, or the wild-Iriſh Dialect, and paſſe their vnderſtanding.

All theſe things are nothing in a manner, if we compare them with the laſt clauſe, which is the cloſer, and as it were the vpſhot of his Lordſhips diſcourſe. For therein he labours to perſwade concerning this Article, framed to bridle the Popes tyranni-

call power ouer Kings, if it ſhould receiue gratious entertainment, and generall approbation; "*That it would breed great danger, and worke effects of pernicious conſequence vnto Kings.*" The reaſon: "*becauſe it would prooue an introduction to ſchiſme; and ſchiſme would ſtirre vp ciuill warres, contempt of Kings, diſtempered inclinations and motions to intrappe their life; and which is worſt of all, the fierce wrath of God, inflicting all ſorts of calamities.*" An admirable paradoxe, and able to ſtrike men ſtone-blind: that his Holines muſt haue power to depoſe Kings, for the better ſecurity and ſafegard of their life; that when their Crownes are made ſubiect vnto an others will and pleaſure, then they are come to the higheſt altitude and eleuation of honour; that for the onely warrant of their life, their ſupreame and abſolute greatnes muſt be depreſſed; that for the longer keeping of their Crownes, an other muſt plucke the Crowne from their heads. As if it ſhould be ſaid, Would they not be ſtript naked by an other? the beſt way is, for themſelues to vntruſſe, for themſelues to lay their tender skinne bare, and of

their

their owne accord to goe as naked as their naile. Will they keepe their Soueraigntie in ſafetie for euer? The beſt way is to let an other haue their Soueraigne authoritie and ſupreame Eſtate in his power. But I haue beene euer of this minde, that when my goods are at no mans commaund or diſpoſing but my owne; then I haue the true, the certaine, and vndoubted poſſeſſion of them as of mine owne. It may bee this errour is grown vpon me and other Princes, for lack of braines: whereupon it may be feared, or at leaſt coniectured, the Pope means to ſhaue our Crownes, and to thruſt vs into ſome cloiſter, there to hold ranke in the brotherhood of good King Childeric. For as much then as my dull capacitie doth not ſerue me to reach or comprehend the pith of this admirable reaſon; I haue thought good to ſeek the helpe, and to vſe the inſtruction of olde and learned experience, which teacheth no ſuch matter: by name, that ciuill wars, and fearefull perturbations of State in any Nation of the world, haue at any time growne from this faithfull credulitie of loyall ſub-

iects, that Popes in right haue no power, to wreſt and lift Kings out of their dignities and poſſeſſions. On the other ſide, by eſtabliſhing the contrary maximes, to yoke and hamper the people with Pontificiall tyrannie, what rebellious troubles and ſtirres, what extreame deſolations hath England been forced to feare and feele, in the raigne of my Predeceſſors Henry II. Iohn, and Henry III? Theſe be the maximes and principles, which vnder the Emperour Henry IV. and Frederic the I. made all Europe flowe with channels and ſtreames of blood, like a riuer with water; while the Saracens by their incurſions and victories ouerflowed, ſurrounded, and in a manner drowned the honour of the Chriſtian name in the Eaſt. Theſe be the maximes & principles, which made way for the wars of the laſt League into France; by which the very bowels of that moſt famous & flouriſhing Kingdome were ſet on ſuch a Tragicall combuſtion, that France herſelfe was brought within two fingers breadth of bondage to an other Nation, and the death of her two laſt Kings

was

was moſt villanouſly accompliſhed. The L. Cardinall then giuing theſe diabolicall maximes for meanes to ſecure the life and eſtate of Kings, ſpeakes as if he would giue men counſell to goe and drie themſelues in the riuer, when they are come as wet as a water ſpaniel out of a pond; or to warme themſelues by Moone-light, when they are ſtar-naked, and well neere frozen to death.

The Concluſion of the Lord of Perron examined.

AFTER the L. Cardinal hath ſtoutly ſhewed the ſtrength of his arme, and the deepe skill of his head in fortification; at laſt he leaues his loftie ſcaffolds, and falls to worke neerer the ground, with more eaſie tooles of humble prayers and gentle exhortations. The ſumme of the whole is this: *Hee adiures his auditors neuer to forge remedies, neuer ſo to prouide for the temporall ſafetie of Kings, as thereby to worke their finall falling from eternall ſaluation: neuer to make any rent, or*

any

any rupture in the vnity of the Church, in this corrupt age infected with peſtilent hereſies; which alreadie hauing made ſo great a breach in the walls of France, will no doubt double their files, and grow to groſſer ſquadrons, by the diſſentions, diuiſions, and ſchiſmes of Catholikes. If this infectious plague ſhall ſtill encreaſe and growe to a Carbuncle; it can by no meanes poyſon religion, without bringing Kings to their winding ſheetes and wofull hearſes. The firſt rowlers of that ſtone of offence, aymed at none other marke, then to make a moſt notorious, ignominious, and lamentable rent in the Church. He thinkes the Deputies of the third Eſtate, had neither head nor hand at firſt in contriuing this Article; but holds it rather a newe deuice and ſubtile inuention, ſuggeſted by perſons, which beeing alreadie cut off by their owne practiſes from the body of the Romane Church, haue likewiſe inueigled and inſnared ſome that beare the name of Catholikes, with ſome other Eccleſiaſtics; and vnder a faire pretence and goodly cloake, (by name, the ſeruice of the King,) haue ſurpriſed and played vpon their ſimplicitie. Theſe men (as the Cardinall ſaith) doe imitate Iulian the Apoſtata, who to bring the Chriſtians to idolatrous worſhip of his falſe Gods, commaunded

the

the idols of Iupiter and Venus to bee intermingled with Imperiall ſtatues, and other Images of Chriſtian Emperours, &c. Then after certaine Rhetoricall flouriſhes, his Lordſhip followes his firſt chaſe; falls to proſecute his former courſe, and cries out of this Article; *A monſter hauing the tayle of a fiſh, as if it came cutting the narrow Seas out of England. For in full effect it is down-right the Engliſh oath; ſauing that indeed the oath of England runnes in a more mild forme, and a more moderate ſtraine.* And here he ſuddenly takes occaſion to make ſome digreſſion. For out of the way, and cleane from the matter, he entreth into ſome purpoſe *of my praiſe and commendation.* He courteouſly forſooth is pleaſed to grace me *with knowledge of learning, and with ciuill vertues.* He ſeemeth cheifly to reioyce in his own behalfe, and to giue me thankes *arla Cardinalesque, that I haue done him the honour to enter the liſts of Theologicall diſpute againſt his Lordſhip.* Howbeit he twitches and carpes at me withall, as at one that ſoweth ſeeds of diſſention and ſchiſme amongſt Romane Catholikes. And yet he would ſeeme to qualifie the

matter, and to make all whole againe, by saying, *That in so doing I am perswaded I doe no more then my duty requires. But now* (as his Lordship followes the point) *it stands neither with true godlinesse or piety, nor with humane equitie, nor with common reason, that Acts made and established, that Statutes, Decrees, and Ordinances ratified for the State and Gouernement of England, should be thrust for binding Lawes vpon the Kingdome of France: nor that Catholikes, and much lesse that Ecclesiastics, (to the ende they may liue in safety, and freely enioy their priuiledges or immunities in France,) should be forced to beleeue, and by oath to seale the same points, which English Catholikes (to the ende they may purchase liberty onely to breath, nay sorrowfully to sigh rather,) are constrained to allow and to aduowe besides. And whereas in England there is no small number of Catholikes, that lacke not constant and resolute minds to vndergoe and endure all sorts of punishment, rather then to take that oath of allegiance; will there not bee found an other manner of number in France, armed with no lesse constancie and Christian resolution? There will most honourable Auditors, there will without all doubt: and*

we all that are of Epiſcopall dignity will ſooner ſuffer Martyrdome in the cauſe. Then out of the ſuper-abundance and ouer-weight of his Lordſhips goodneſſe, he cloſely coucheth and conuayeth a certaine diſtaſtfull oppoſition between my ſelfe and his King; with prayſes and thankes to God, that *his King is not delighted with blood of Saints, and takes no pleaſure to make Martyrs.*

All this artificiall and ſwelling diſcourſe like vnto puffe-paſt, if it be viewed at a neere diſtance, will be found like a bladder full of wind, without any ſolidity of ſubſtantiall matter. For the Deputies of the third Eſtate were neuer ſo voide of vnderſtanding, to beleeue that by prouiding for the life and ſafety of their King, they ſhould thruſt him headlong into eternall damnation. Their braines were neuer ſo much blaſted, ſo farre benummed, to dreame the ſoule of their King cannot mount vp to heauen, except he be diſmounted from his Princely Throne vpon earth, whenſoeuer the Pope ſhall hold vp his finger.

And whereas he is bold to pronounce,

that heretikes of France doe make their benefit and aduantage of this diuiſion; that ſpeech is grounded vpon this propoſition; That profeſſors of the Chriſtian Religion reformed (which is to ſay, purged & cleanſed of all Popiſh dregs) are heretikes in fact, and ought ſo to be reputed in right. Which propoſition his Lordſhip will neuer be able withall his Clarke-ſhip, ſoundly and ſufficiently to make good, before his Holines hath compiled an other Goſpel, or hath forged an other Bible at his Pontificiall anuile. The L. Cardinall vndertooke to reade me a lecture vpon that argument once before; but euer ſince hath played Mum-budget, and hath put himſelfe to ſilence, like one at a *Non-plus* in his bold vndertaking. There be three yeares alreadie gone and paſt, ſince his Lordſhip beganne to ſhape ſome anſwer to a certaine writing diſpatched by me in few dayes. With forming and reforming, with filing and poliſhing, with labouring and licking his anſwer ouer and ouer againe, with reiterated extractions and calcinations, it may be coniectured that all his Lordſhips

ſhips labour and coſt is long ſince euaporated and vaniſhed in the aire. Howbeit, as well the friendly conference of a King, (for I will not call it a contention) as alſo the dignitie, excellencie, and importance of the maine ſubiect, long ſince deſerued, and as long ſince required the publiſhing of ſome or other anſwer. His Lordſhips long ſilence will neuer be imputed to lacke of capacitie, wherewith who knoweth not how abundantly he is furniſhed and inriched; but rather to well aduiſed agnition of his owne working and building vpon a weake foundation.

But let vs returne vnto theſe heretikes, that make ſo great gaine by the diſagreement of Catholikes. It is no part of their dutie to aime at ſowing of diſſentions; but rather to intend and attend their faithfull performance of ſeruice to their King. If ſome be pleaſed, and others offended, when ſo good and loyall duties are ſincerely diſcharged; it is for all good ſubiects to grieue, and to be ſorie, that when they ſpeake for the ſafetie of their King, and honour of the

truth, it is their hard hap to leaue any at all vnſatisfied. But ſuppoſe the ſaid heretikes were the Authors of this Article preferred by the third Eſtate. What need they to conceale their names in that regard? What need they to diſclaime the credie and honour of ſuch a noble and worthy act? Would it not redound to their perpetuall honour, to bee the onely ſubiects that keepe watch ouer the Kings life and Crowne, that ſtand centinell, and walke the rounds for the preſeruation of his Princely diademe, when the reſt haue no more touch, no more feeling thereof then ſo many ſtockes and ſtones? And what need the Deputies for the third Eſtate, to receiue inſtructions from forraine Kingdomes, concerning a cauſe of that nature; when there is no want of domeſticall examples, and the French hiſtories are plentifull in that argument? What neede they to gape for this reformed doctrine, to come ſwimming with a fiſhes taile out of an Iſland to the main continent, when they had before their eies the murders of two Kings, with diuerſe ciuill warres, and many Arreſts

of

of Court; all tending to insinuate and suggest the introduction of the same remedie? Suggestions are needles from abroad, when the mischeife is felt at home. It seemes to me that his Lordshippe in smoothing and tickling the Deputies for the third Estate, doth no lesse then wring and wrong their great sufficiencie with contumely and outragious abuse: as if they had not beene furnished with sufficient foresight, and with loyall affection towards their King, for the preseruation of his life and honour, if the remedie had not beene beaten into their heads by those of the Religion, reputed heretikes.

Touching my selfe, ranged by his Lordship in the same ranke with fowers of dissention; I take my God to witnes, and my owne conscience, that I neuer dreamed of any such vnchristian proiect. It hath been hitherto my ordinarie course to follow honest counsells, and to walke in open waies. I neuer wonted my selfe to holes and corners, to crafty shifts, but euermore to plaine and open designes. I need not hide mine

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intentions for feare of any mortall man, that puffeth breath of life out of his noſtrils. Nor in any ſort doe I purpoſe, to ſet Iulian the Apoſtata before mine eyes, as a patterne for me to follow. Iulian of a Chriſtian became a Pagan: I profeſſe the ſame faith of Chriſt ſtill, which I haue euer profeſſed: Iulian went about his deſignes with crafty conueiances; I neuer with any of his captious and cunning ſleights: Iulian forced his ſubiects to infidelity againſt Ieſus Chriſt; I labour to induce my ſubiects vnto ſuch tearmes of loyalty towards my ſelfe, as Ieſus Chriſt hath preſcribed and taught in his word. But how farre I differ from Iulian, it is to be ſeene more at large in my anſwer to Bellarmines Epiſtle written to Blackwell; from whence the Lord Cardinall borrowing this example, it might well haue beſeemed his Lordſhip by his leaue, to borrow likewiſe my anſwer from the ſame place.

Now as it mooues me nothing at all, to be drawne by his Lordſhip into ſuſpitions of this nature and quality: ſo by the pray-

ſes,

ſes, that he rockes me withall, I will neuer by Gods helpe be lulled aſleepe. To commend a man for his knowledge, and withall to take from him the feare of God; is to admire a ſouldier for his goodly head of haire, or his curled locks, and withall to call him baſe coward, faint-hearted and freſh-water ſouldier. Knowledge, wit, and learning lodged in the breſt or brayne of an hereticke, are of none other vſe and ſeruice, but onely to make him the more culpable; and conſequently obnoxious to the more greiuous puniſhments. All vertues turne to vices, when they become the ſeruants of impiety. The hand-maids which the Soueraigne Lady Wiſedome calls to be of her traine in the 9. Prouerb. are morall vertues, and humane ſciences; which then become pernicious, when they runne away from their Soueraigne Lady-Miſtris, and put ouer themſelues in ſeruice to the Deuill. What difference is between two men, both alike wanting the knowldge of God; the one furniſhed with arts and ciuill vertues, the other brutiſhly barbarous and of a defor-

med life, or of prophane manners? What is the difference betweene theſe two? I make this the only difference: the firſt goes to hell with a better grace, and falls into perdition with more facility, then the ſecond. But hee becomes exceedingly wicked, and aboue all meaſure outragious, euen threefold and fourefold abhominable; if he waſt his treaſure and ſtocke of ciuill vertues in perſecuting the Church of Chriſt: and if that may be layed in his diſh which was caſt in Cæſars teeth, that in plaine ſobernes and well-ſetled temper, he attempts the ruine of the Common-wealth; which from a drunken ſot and beaſtly Heliogabalus might receiue perhaps a more eaſie and leſſe dangerous fall. In breife, I ſcorne all garlands of praiſes, which are not euer greene and flouriſhing; but beeing drie and withered for want of ſappe and radicall moyſture, doe flagge about barbarous Princes browes. I defie and renounce thoſe prayſes, which fit me no more then they fit a Mahumetane King of Marocco. I conteſt againſt all prayſes which grace me with pety acceſſories,

but

but rob me of the principall, that one thing neceſſary; namely, the feare and knowledge of my God: vnto whoſe Maieſty alone, I haue deuoted my Scepter, my ſword, my penne, my whole induſtry, my whole ſelfe, with all that is mine in whole and in part. I doe it, I doe it in all humble acknowledgment of his vnſpeakable mercy and fauour, who hath vouchſafed to deliuer me from the erroneous way of this deceiued and Apoſtaticall age; to deliuer my Kingdome from the Popes tyrannicall yoake, vnder which it hath lyen in times paſt moſt greiuouſly oppreſſed, toſſed, and tormented. My Kingdome where God is now purely ſerued, and called vpon in a tongue which all the vulgar vnderſtand. My Kingdome, where the people may now reade the Scriptures without any ſpeciall priuiledge from the Apoſtolike See; and with no leſſe liberty both of conſcience and perſon, then the people of Epheſus, of Rome, and of Corinth did read the holy Epiſtles, written to their Churches by S. Paul. My Kingdome, where the people now pay no longer any tribute

Aliquot annis poſt, Apoſtolica ſedis nuncius in Angliam ad colligendum S. Petri veſtigal miſſus. Onuphri. in vit. Paul. 4. Vide & Math. Paris.

by the poll for Papall indulgences, (as they did about an hundred yeares paſt,) and are no longer compelled to the mart, for pardons beyond the Seas and Mountaines; but haue them now freely offred from God, by the doctrine of the Goſpel preached at home, within their owne ſeuerall pariſhes and iuriſdictions. If the Churches of my Kingdome, in the L. Cardinals accompt, be miſerable for theſe cauſes, and the like; let him dreame on, and talke his pleaſure: for my part I will euer adiowe, that more worth is our miſery then all his felicity. For the reſt, it ſhall by Gods grace bee my daily endeauour and ſerious care, to paſſe my daies in ſhaping to my ſelfe ſuch a courſe of life, that without ſhamefull calumniating of my perſon, it ſhall not reſt in the tippe of any tongue, to touch my life with iuſt reprehenſion or blame. Nor am I ſo priuy to mine own guiltines, as to thinke my ſtate ſo deſperate, ſo deplorable, as Popes haue made their owne caſe in quality of Popes. For ſome of them haue been ſo open-hearted, and ſo tongue-free, to deliuer

and

and pronounce that Popes themſelues, the key-bearers of Heauen and hell, cannot be ſaued. Two Popes, reckoned among the beſt of the whole bunch or packe, namely, Adrian IV. and Marcelline II. haue both ſung one and the ſame note; that in their vnderſtanding they could not conceiue any reaſon why, or any meanes how thoſe that ſway the Popedome can be partakers of ſaluation. But for my particular, grounding my faith vpon the promiſes of God contained in the Goſpell, I doe confidently and aſſuredly beleeue, that repenting me of my ſinnes, and repoſing my whole truſt in the merits of Ieſus Chriſt, I ſhall obtaine forgiueneſſe of my ſinnes through his Name. Nor doe I feare, that I am now, or ſhall be hereafter caſt out of the Churches lap and boſome, that I now haue or hereafter ſhall haue no right to the Church as a putrified member thereof, ſo long as I doe or ſhall cleaue to Chriſt Ieſus, the Head of the Church: the appellation and name whereof, ſerueth in this corrupt age, as a cloake to couer a thouſand new-fangled inuentions;

Onup. de vitis Pontif. in vit. Mar. 2. doth teſtifie, that Marcel. alſo after Adrian 4. vſed theſe words: Non video quo modo qui locum hunc altiſſ. tenent, ſaluari poſſint

and now no longer ſignifies the aſſembly of the faithfull, or ſuch as beleeue in Ieſus Chriſt according to his word, but a certaine glorious oſtentation and Temporall Monarchy, whereof the Pope forſooth is the ſupreame Head.

But if the L. Cardinall by aſſured and certaine knowledge (as perhaps he may by common fame) did vnderſtand the horrible conſpiracies that haue been plotted and contriued, not againſt my perſon and life alone, but alſo againſt my whole ſtocke: if he rightly knew and were inly perſwaded, of how many fowle periuries and wicked treaſons, diuerſe Eccleſiaſticall perſons of my kingdome haue been lawfully conuicted: inſtead of charging me with falſe imputations, that *I ſuffer not my Catholikes to fetch a ſigh, or to draw their breath; and that I thruſt my Catholikes vpon the ſharpe edge of puniſhment in euery kind*; he would, and might well, rather wonder, how I my ſelfe, after ſo many dangers runne, after ſo many proditorious ſnares eſcaped, doe yet fetch my owne breath, and yet practiſe Princely clemencie

towards the ſaid Catholikes, notorious breakers and tranſgreſſors of diuine and humane lawes. If the French King in the heart of his Kingdom, ſhould nouriſh and foſter ſuch a neſt of ſtinging hornets and buſie waſpes, I meane ſuch a packe of ſubiects, denying his abſolute Soueraignty, as many Romane Catholikes of my Kingdome doe mine: it may well be doubted, whether the L. Cardinall would aduiſe his King ſtill to feather the neſt of the ſaid Catholikes, ſtill to keep them warme as in his boſome, ſtill to beare them with an eaſie and a gentle hand, as horſes of weake and tender mouthes are managed by riders with a ſoft bit and a forbearing hand. It may well be doubted, whether his Lordſhip would extoll their conſtancy, that would haue the courage to ſheath vp their ſwords in his Kings bowells, or to blow vp his King with gun-powder, into the neather ſtation of the loweſt region. It may well be doubted, whether he would endure that Orator, who (like as himſelfe hath done) ſhould ſtirre vp others to ſuffer Martyrdome after

ſuch examples, and to imitate parricides and traitors in their conſtancy. The ſcope then of the L. Cardinall, in ſtriking the ſweet ſtrings, and ſounding the pleaſant notes of prayſes, which faine he would fill and dull mine eares withall; is onely by his excellent skil in the muſicke of Oratory, to bewitch the hearts of my ſubiects, to infatuate their minds, to ſettle them in a reſolution to depriue me of my life. The reaſon: Becauſe the plotters and practiſers againſt my life, are honoured and rewarded with a glorious name of Martyrs: their conſtancie (what els?) is admired, when they ſuffer death for treaſon. Whereas hitherto during the time of my whole raigne to this day, (I ſpeake it in the word of a King, and truth it ſelfe ſhall make good the Kings word) no man hath loſt his life or limmes, no man hath endured the Racke, no man hath ſuffred corporall puniſhment in other kinds, meerely or ſimply, or in any degree of reſpect, for his conſcience in matter of religion; but for wicked conſpiring and plotting againſt my life, or Eſtate, or Royall

dig-

dignity; or els for ſome notorious crime, or ſome obſtinate and wilfull diſobedience. Of which traiterous and viperous brood, I commanded one to be hanged by the neck of late in Scotland: a Ieſuite of intolerable impudency, who at his arraignment and publike triall, ſtiffely and traiterouſly maintained, that I haue robbed the Pope of his right, and haue no manner of right in the poſſeſſion of my Kingdome. His Lordſhip therefore in offering himſelfe to Martyrdome, after the rare example of Catholiks, (as he ſaith ſuffering all ſorts of puniſhment in my Kingdome,) doth plainely profeſſe himſelfe a follower of traytors and parricides. Theſe be the Worthies, theſe the heroicall ſpirits, theſe the honourable Captaines and Coronels, whoſe vertuous parts neuer ſufficiently magnified and prayſed, his Lordſhip hath propounded for imitation to the French Biſhops. O the name of Martyrs, in olde times a ſacred name! how is it not now derided and made vile? how is it in theſe daies filthily prophaned? O you the whole quire and holy company

of Apoſtles, who haue ſealed the truth with your deareſt blood! how much and how ſhamefully are you diſparaged? how vnfitly are you paragoned and matched, when traytors, bloody butchers, and King-killers are made your aſſiſtants, and of your *Quorum*; or to ſpeake in milder tearmes, when you are coupled with Martyrs that ſuffer for maintaining the Temporall rites of the Popes Empire? with Biſhops that offer themſelues to a Problematicall Martyrdome, for a point decided neither by the authorities of your Spirit-inſpired pens, nor by the auncient and venerable teſtimony of the Primitiue Church? for a point which they dare not vndertake to teach, otherwiſe then by a doubtfull, cold, fearefull way of diſcourſe, and altogether without reſolution. In good ſooth, I take the Cardinall for a perſonage of a quicker ſpirit and clearer ſight, (let his Lordſhip hold me excuſed) then to perſwade my ſelfe, that in theſe matters his tongue and his heart, his pen and his inward iudgement, haue any true and iuſt concord or correſpondence one

with

with another. For beeing very much againſt his minde (as he doth confeſſe) thruſt into the office of an Aduocate to pleade this cauſe; he ſuffred himſelfe to be carried (after his engagement) with ſome heat, to vtter ſome things againſt his conſcience murmuring and grumbling the contrary within, and to affirme ſome other things with confidence, whereof he had not beene otherwiſe informed, then onely by vaine and lying report. Of which ranke is that bold aſſertion of his Lordſhip; That many Catholiks in England, rather then they would ſubſcribe to the oath of allegiance in the preciſe and literall forme thereof, haue vndergone all ſorts of puniſhment. For in England (as we haue truely giuen the whole Chriſtian world to vnderſtand in our Preface to the Apology) there is but one forme or kind of puniſhment ordained by Law, or vſed by practiſe, for all ſorts of traytors.

Hath not his Lordſhip now graced me with goodly elogies or teſtimonialls of praiſe and commendation? Am I not by his praiſes proclaimed a Tyrant, as it were

inebriated with blood of the Saints, and a famous Enginer of torments for my Catholikes? To this exhortation of the ſuffering of Martyrdome, in imitation of my Engliſh traytors and parricides, if we ſhall adde, how craftily and ſubtilly he makes the Kings of England to hold of the Pope by fealty, and their Kingdome in bondage to the Pope by Temporall recognizance; it ſhall eaſily appeare, that his holy-water of praiſes wherewith I am ſo reuerently beſprinkled, is an artificiall compoſition extracted out of a dram of hony and a pound of gall, firſt ſteeped in a ſtrong decoction of bitter worme-wood, or of the wild gourd called Coloquintida. For after hee hath in
Pag. 10. the beginning of his Oration, ſpoken of Kings that owe fealtie to the Pope, and are not Soueraignes in the higheſt degree of Temporall ſupremacie within their Kingdomes; to explaine his mind and meaning the better, hee marſhals the Kings of England a little after in the ſame ranke. His words bee theſe; *When King Iohn of England, not yet bound in any temporall recognizance to the*

Pope,

Pope, had expelled his Biſhops, &c. His Lordſhippe meanes, that King Iohn became ſo bound, and in ſuch tenure to the Pope not long after. And what may this meaning bee, but in plaine tearmes and broad ſpeach, to call me vſurper and vnlawfull King? For the feudatarie, or he that holds a Mannor by fealty, when he doth not his homage, with all ſuit and ſeruice that he owes to the Lord Paramount, doth fall from the property of his fee. This reproach of the L. Cardinals, is ſeconded with an other of Bellarmines his brother Cardinall; That Ireland was giuen to the Kings of England by the Pope. The beſt is, that his moſt reuerend and learned Lordſhippe hath not ſhewed, who it was that gaue Ireland to the Pope.

And touching Iohn King of England, thus in breife ſtands the whole matter. Betweene Henry 2. and the Pope, there had paſſed ſundry bitter bickerments, about collating of Eccleſiaſticall dignities. Iohn the ſonne, after his fathers death, renewes, vndertakes, and purſues the ſame quarrell. Driues certaine Engliſh Biſhops out of the

Kingdom, for defending the Popes insolent vsurpation vpon his Royall prerogatiue, and Regall rights. Shewes such Princely courage and resolution in those times, when all that stood and suffered for the Popes Temporall pretensions against Kings, were enrowled Martyrs or Confessors. The Pope takes the matter in fowle scorne, and great indignation; shuts the King by his Excommunicatorie Bulls out of the Church; stirres vp his Barons, (for other causes maleconted, and the Kings heauy friends) to rise in armes; giues the Kingdome of England (like a masterlesse man turned ouer to a new master) to Philippus Augustus King of France; binds Philip to make a conquest of England by the sword, or else no bargaine, or els no gift; promises Philip, in recompence of his trauel and Royall expences in that conquest, full absolution with a generall pardon at large for all his sinnes: to be short; cuts King Iohn out so much worke, and driues him to keep so many yrons in the fire for his work, that hee had none other way, none other meanes to pacifie the Popes high displea-

ſure, to correct or qualifie the malignitie of the Popes cholericke humour, (in whoſe toyles the King was ſo farre entangled) but yeelding himſelfe to become the Popes vaſſall, and his Kingdome feudatary, or to hold by fealty of the Papall See. By this meanes his Crowne is made tributarie, all his people become liable to paiment of taxes by the poll for a certaine yearely tribute, and he is bleſſed with a pardon forſooth for all his ſinnes. Whether King Iohn was mooued to doe this diſhonourable act vpon any deuotion, and inflamed with any zeale of Religion; or inforced by the vnreſiſtable weapons of neceſſitie, who can be ſo blind that he doth not well ſee, and clearely perceiue? For to purchaſe his owne freedome from this bondage to the Pope; what could hee be vnwilling to doe; that was willing to bring his Kingdome vnder the yoke of Amirales Murmelinus a Mahumetan Prince, then King of Granado and Barbaria? The Pope after that, ſends his Legat into England. The King now the Popes vaſſall, and holding his Crowne of the Pope, like a man

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that holds his land of an other by Knights ſeruice, or by homage or fealty, is driuen & glad withall to doe faire homage for his Crowne to the Popes Legat, and layes down at his feete a great maſſe of the pureſt gold in coyne. The reuerend Legat, in token of his Maſters Soueraignty, with more then vſuall pride falls to kicking and ſpurning the treaſure, no doubt with a paire of moſt holy feet. Not onely ſo, but likewiſe at ſolemne feaſts, the deputed Legat is eaſily entreated to take the Kings chaire of Eſtate. Here I would faine know the Lord Cardinals opinion; whether theſe actions of the Pope were iuſt or vniuſt, law full or vnlawfull, according to right or againſt all right and reaſon. If he will ſay againſt right; it is then cleare, that againſt right his Lordſhip hath taken any vantage of this example: if according to right; let him then make it knowne, from whence or from whome this pretended law full power was deriued and conuaied to the Pope, whereby hee makes himſelfe Soueraigne Lord of Temporalties in that Kingdome, where neither

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himſelfe nor any of his predeceſſors euer pretended any right, or laid any claime to Temporall matters before. Are ſuch prankes to be played by the Pontificiall Biſhop? Is this an act of Holines, to ſet a Kingdome on fire by the flaming brands of ſedition? to diſmember and quarter a Kingdome with inteſtine warres; onely to this end, that a King once reduced to the loweſt degree of miſery, might be lifted by his Holines out of his Royall prerogatiue, the very ſoule and life of his Royall Eſtate? When beganne this Papall power? In what age began the Pope to practiſe this power? What! haue the auncient Canons, (for the Scripture in this queſtion beareth no pawme) haue the Canons of the auncient Church, impoſed any ſuch ſatisfaction vpon a ſinner, that of a Soueraigne and free King, he ſhould become vaſſal to his ghoſtly Father; that he ſhould make himſelfe together with all his people and ſubiects tributaries to a Biſhop, that ſhal rifle a whole Nation of their coyne, that ſhall receiue homage of a King, and make a King his baſe vaſſal? What! Shal

not a ſinner be quitted of his faults, except his Paſtor turne robber, and one that goes like a free-booter to rake vp ſpoyles? except he make his Paſtor a feoffee in his whole Eſtate, and ſuffer himſelfe vnder a ſhadow of penance to freeze naked, to be turned out of all his goods and poſſeſſions of inheritance? But be it graunted, admit his Holines robs one Prince of his rights and reuenewes, to conferre the ſame vpon an other: were it not an high degree of Tyranny to finger an other mans eſtate, and to giue that portion away to a third, which the ſecond hath no right, no lawfull authority to giue? Well, if the Pope then ſhall become his owne caruer in the rights of an other; if he ſhall make his owne coffers to ſwell with an others reuenewes; if he ſhall decke and array his owne backe in the ſpoyles of a ſinner, with whom in abſolution he makes full peace, and takes full truce; what can this be elſe, but heaping of robbery vpon fraud, and impiety vpon robbery? For by ſuch deceitfull, crafty, and cunning practiſes, the nature of the Pontificiall Sea, meere-

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ly ſpirituall, is changed into the quality of the Kings-bench-Court, meerely temporall: the Biſhops chaire is changed into a Monarchs Throne. And not onely ſo, but beſides, the ſinners repentance is changed into a ſnare or pit-fall of couſening deceit; & Saint Peters net is changed into a caſting-net or a flew, to fiſh for all the wealth of moſt flouriſhing Kingdomes. Moreouer, the King (a hard caſe) is driuen by ſuch wily and pragmaticall inuentions, to worke impoſſibilities, to act more then is lawfull, or within the compaſſe of his power to practiſe. For the King neither may in right, nor can by power tranſ-nature his Crowne, impaire the Maieſtie of his Kingdome, or leaue his Royall dignitie leſſe free to his heire apparant, or next ſucceſſor, then he receiued the ſame of his predeceſſor. Much leſſe, by any diſhonourable capitulations, by any vnworthy contracts, can he degrade his poſteritie, and bring his people vnder the greiuous burden of tributes and taxes to a forraine Prince. Leaſt of all can hee make them tributarie to a Prieſt: vnto whome it

no way appertaines to haue any hand in the ciuill affaires of Kings, or to diſtaine and vnhallow their Crownes. And therfore when the Pope diſpatched his Nuntio to Philippus Auguſtus, requeſting the King to avert Lewis his ſonne from laying any claime to the Kingdome of England; Philip anſwered the Legat (as we haue it in Matt. Paris;) *No King, no Prince can alienate or giue away his Kingdome, but by conſent of his Barons, bound by Knights ſeruice to defend the ſaid Kingdome: and in caſe the Pope ſhall ſtand for the contrarie error, his Holineſſe ſhould giue to Kingdomes a moſt pernicious example.* By the ſame Author it is teſtified, that King Iohn became odious to his ſubiects, for ſuch diſhonourable and vnworthy inthralling of his Crowne and Kingdome. Therefore the Popes right pretended to the Crowne of England, which is nothing elſe but a ridiculous vſurpation, hath long agoe vaniſhed into ſmoake, and neuer ſince hath required ſo much as the drawing of one ſword to ſnatch and pull it by violence out of his holy hands. For the Popes power lying altogether in a certaine

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wild and wandring conceit or opinion of men, and beeing onely an imaginarie caſtle in the aire, built by pride, and vnderpropped by ſuperſtition, is very ſpeedily diſperſed vpon the firſt riſing and appearing of the truth in her glorious brightneſſe. There is none ſo very a dolt or blocke-head to denie, that in caſe this right of the Pope ouer England, be grounded vpon Gods word, then his Holineſſe may challenge the like right ouer all other Kingdomes: becauſe all other Kingdomes, Crowns, and Scepters are ſubiect alike to Gods word. For what priuiledge, what charter, what euidence can France fetch out of the Rolles, or any other treaſurie of her monuments, and records, to ſhewe that ſhee oweth leſſe ſubiection to God then England? Or was this yoke of bondage then brought vpon the Engliſh Nation a prerogatiue, whereby they might more eaſily come to the libertie of the ſons of God? Or were the people of England perſwaded, that for all their ſubſtance, wealth, and life, beſtowed and ſpent on the Pope, his Holineſſe by way of exchange re-

turned them better weight and meaſure of ſpirituall graces? It is ridiculous, onely to conceiue theſe toyes in thought; and yet with ſuch ridiculous deuices, with ſuch toyes in conceit, his Lordſhip feedes and entertains his auditors.

From this point hee falls to an other bowt and fling at his heretiks, with whom he played no faire play before: *There is not one Synode of miniſters* (as he ſaith) *which would willingly ſubſcribe to this Article, whereunto wee ſhould bee bound to ſweare.* But herein his Lordſhip ſhoots faire and farre from the marke. This Article is approoued and preached by the Miniſters of my Kingdome. It is likewiſe preached by thoſe of France, and if neede be (I aſſure my ſelfe) will bee ſigned by all the Miniſters of the French Church.

Pag. 105. " " " "

The L. Cardinall proceeds, (for he means not ſo ſoone to giue ouer theſe heretikes without further aſperſions and reproachfull imputations: *All their Conſiſtories beleeue it as their Creede; that if Catholike Princes at any time ſhall offer force vnto their conſcience, then*

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they

they are dispensed withall for their oath of allegiance. Hence are these modifications and restrictions, tossed so much in their mouthes; Prouided the King force vs not in our conscience. *Hence are these exceptions in the profession of their faith*; Prouided the Soueraigne power and authority of God, be not in any sort violated or infringed. I am not able to conceiue what engine can be framed of these materials, for the bearing of Kings out of their eminent seats, by any lawfull authority or power in the Pope. For say, those of the Religion should be tainted with some like errour; how can that be any shelter of excuse for those of the Romish Church, to vndermine or to digge vp the Thrones of their Kings? But in this allegation of the Lord Cardinall, there is nothing at all, which doth not iumpe iust and accord to a haire with the Article of the third Estate, and with obedience due to the King. For they of the lower house doe not professe, that incase the King shall commaund them to doe any act contrary to their conscience, they will flie at his throat, will offer and con-

triue any attempt againſt his life, will refuſe to pay their taxations, or to defend the King in his warres. They make no profeſſion of depoſing the King, or diſcharging the people from the oath of allegiance tendred to the King: which is the very point or iſſue of the matter in controuerſie; and the maine miſcheife, againſt which the third Eſtate hath been moſt worthily carefull to prouide a wholeſome remedy by this Article. There is a world of difference betweene the tearmes of diſobedience, and of depoſition. It is one thing to diſobey the Kings commaund in matters prohibited by diuine lawes, and yet in all other matters to performe full and loyall ſubiection vnto the King. It is another thing of a farre higher degree or ſtraine of diſloyalty, to bare the King of his Royall robes, throne, and ſcepter, and when he is thus farre diſgraced, to degrade him and put him from his degree and place of a King. If the holy Father ſhould charge the L. Cardinall to doe ſome act repugnant in his owne knowledge to the Law of God, I will religiouſly, and ac-

cording to the rule of charity presume, that his Lordship in this case would stand out against his Holines, and notwithstanding would still acknowledge him to be his holy Father the Pope.

His Lordship yet prosecutes and followes his former purpose: *Hence are those armes which they haue oftentimes borne against Kings, when Kings practised to take away the liberty of their conscience and Religion. Hence are those turbulent Commotions and seditions by them raised, as well in the Low-countries against the King of Spaine, as in Swethland against the Catholike King of Polonia.* Besides, he casts Iunius Brutus, Buchananus, Barclaius, and Gerson in our teeth. To what end all this? I see not how it can be auaileable to authorize the deposing of Kings, especially the Popes power to depose. And yet his Lordship here doth outface (by his leaue) and beare down the truth of some notable and eminent passages. For I could neuer yet learne by any good and true intelligence, that in France those of the Religion tooke armes at any time against their King. In the first ciuill

warres they ſtood onely vpon their guard: they ſtood onely to their lawfull wards and locks of defence: they armed not, nor tooke the field before they were purſued with fire & ſword, burnt vp to the ground, and ſlaughtred on heapes. Beſides, Religion was neither the root nor the rynde of all thoſe inteſtine troubles. The true ground of the quarrell was this: During the minority of King Francis 2. the Proteſtants of France were onely a refuge and ſuccour to the Princes of the blood, when they were kept from the Kings preſence, and by the ouer powring power of their enemies, were no better then plaine driuen and chaſed from the Court. I meane, the Grand-father of the King now raigning, and the Grand-father of the Prince of Condè, when they had no place of ſafe retreate beſides in the whole kingdome. In regard of which worthy and honourable ſeruice, it may ſeeme the French King hath reaſon to hold the Proteſtants in the Princely arke of his gracious remembrance. With other commotion or inſurrection, the Proteſtants are

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not iuſtly to be charged. But on the contrary, true and certaine it is, that King Henry III. rayſed and ſent forth ſeuerall armies againſt the Proteſtants, to ruine and roote them out of the Kingdome. Howbeit, ſo ſoone as the ſaid Proteſtants perceiued the ſaid King was brought into dangerous tearmes, they ranne with great ſpeed and ſpeciall fidelity to the Kings reſcue and ſuccour, in the preſent danger. True and certaine it is, that by their good and faithfull ſeruice, the ſaid King was deliuered from a moſt extreame and imminent perill of his life in the city of Tours. True and certaine it is, they neuer abandoned that Henry 3. nor his next ſucceſſor Henry 4. in all the heat of reuolts and rebellions, raiſed in the greateſt part of the Kingdome by the Pope, and the more part of the Clergy: but ſtood to the ſaid Kings in all their battels, to beare vp the Crown then tottering and ready to fall. True and certaine it is, that euen the heads and principalls of thoſe by whome the late King deceaſed was purſued with all extremities, at this day doe enioy the fruit of all

the good ſeruices done to the King by the ſaid Proteſtants, now diſgraced, kept vnder the hatches, expoſed to publike hatred. What, for kindling coales of queſtions and controuerſies about Religion? Forſooth, not ſo: but becauſe if they might haue equall and indifferent dealing, if credit might be giuen to their faithfull aduertiſements and remonſtrances, the Crowne of their Kings ſhould be no longer pinned to the Popes flie-flap; in France there ſhould be no French exempted from ſubiection to the French King; cauſes of benefices or of matrimony, ſhould be no longer citable and ſummonable to the Romiſh Court; and the Kingdome ſhould no longer grone as tributary vnder the colour of annats, the firſt fruits of Benefices after the remooue or death of the Incumbent, and other like impoſitions.

But why do I ſpeake ſo much in the behalfe of the French Proteſtants? The Lord Cardinal himſelfe quittes them of this blame; when he tells vs this doctrine for the depoſing of Kings by the Popes hal-

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lowed mace or verge, had credit and authority through all France, vntill Caluins time. Doth not his Lordſhip vnder-hand confeſſe by theſe words, that Kings had been alwaies before Caluins time, the more diſhonoured, the worſe entreated, and the more vnfaithfully ſerued? Item, that Proteſtants, (whome his Lordſhip calls heretikes) by the light of holy Scripture haue made the world then and euer ſince to ſee the rights of Kings, oppreſſed ſo long before? As for thoſe of the Low Countries, and the ſubiects of Swethland, I haue little to ſay of their caſe; becauſe it is not within ordinary compaſſe, and indeede ſerues nothing to the purpoſe. Theſe Nations, (beſides the cauſe of Religion) doe ſtand vpon certaine reaſons or myſteries of State, which I will not here take vpon me like a Iudge to determine, or ſo much as once to ſift.

Iunius Brutus, whom the L. Cardinall obiects, is an author vnknowne; and perhaps of purpoſe patcht vp by ſome Romaniſt, with a tricke of wyly deceit to draw the reformed Religion into hatred with

Christian Princes.

Buchanan I reckon and ranke among Poets; not among Diuines, classicall or common. If the man hath burst out here and there into some tearmes of excesse, or speach of bad temper and of a boyling humour, that must be imputed to the violence of his humour, and heate of his priuate spirit; not in any wise to the rules and conclusions of true Religion, rightly by him conceiued before.

Barclaius alledged by the Cardinal, meddles not with deposing of Kings; but deals with disavowing them for Kings, when they shall renounce the right of Royalty, and of their owne accord shall relinquish and giue ouer the Kingdome. Now he that leaues it in the Kings choice, and at his liberty, either to hold or to giue ouer his Crowne, leaues it not in the Popes power to take away the Kingdome.

Of Gerson obtruded by the Cardinall, we haue spoken sufficiently before. Where it hath been shewed how Gerson is cunningly disguised, masked, and peruerted by

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his Lordſhip. In briefe, I take not vpon me to iuſtifie and make good all the ſayings of particular authors. We glory (and well we may) that our religion affoards no rules of rebellion: nor allowes and grants any diſpenſation to ſubiects for the oath of their allegiance: and that none of our Churches giue entertainement vnto ſuch monſtrous and abhominable principles of diſloyalty.

If any of the French, otherwiſe perſwaded in former times, not hauing altered and changed his iudgement, doth contend for the Soueraignty of Kings againſt Papall vſurpation; he doubtles, for winding himſelfe out of the Labyrinth of an error ſo intricate and pernicious, deſerues great honour and ſpeciall praiſe. Hee is worthy to hold a place of dignity aboue the L. Cardinall: who hath quitted and betrayed his former iudgment, which was holy and iuſt. Their motions are contrary, their markes are oppoſite. He the firſt reclines from euill to good, the other he L. Cardinall declines from good to euill. *Richerius.*

At laſt his Lordſhip comes to the cloſe

of

of his Oration, and binds vp his whole harangue with a feate wreath of praiſes, proper to his King. He ſtyles the King the eldeſt
" Sonne of the Church; a young ſhoot of the
" lilly, which King Salomon in all his Royalty was not able to match. He leads vs by
" the hand into the pleaſant meadowes of
" Hiſtories; there to learne vpon the very firſt
" ſight and viewe, That ſo long, ſo oft as the
" Kings of France embraced vnion, and kept
" good tearmes of concord with Popes and
" the Apoſtolike See; ſo long as the ſpouſe of
" the Church was paſtured and fed among
" the lillies; all ſorts of ſpirituall and tempo-
" rall graces abnndantly ſhowred vpon their
" Crownes, and vpon their people: On the
" contrary, when they made any rent or ſepa-
" ration from the moſt holy See; then the lil-
" lies were pricked and almoſt choaked with
" ſharpe thornes; then they began to droope,
" to ſtoop, and to beare their beautifull heads
" downe to the very ground, vnder the ſtrong
" flawes and guſts of boyſterous winds and
" tempeſts.

My anſwer to this flouriſhing cloſe and

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vpſhot, ſhall be no leſſe apert then apt. It ſauours not of good and faithfull ſeruice, to ſmooth and ſtroake the Kings head with a ſoft hand of oyled ſpeech; and in the meane time to take away the Crowne from his head, and to defile it with dirt. But let vs try the cauſe by euidence of Hiſtory, yea by the infallible voice and verdict of experience; to ſee whether the glorious beauty of the French lillies, hath been at any time blaſted, and thereupon hath faded by ſtarting aſide, and making ſeparation from the holy See. Vnder the raigne of King Philip the Faire, France was bleſſed with peace and proſperity; notwithſtanding ſome outragious acts of exceſſe done againſt the Papall See, and contumelious crying quittance by King Philip with the Pope. Lewis 12. in ranged battell defeated the armies of Pope Iulius 2. and his Confederates: proclaimed the ſaid Pope to be fallen from the Popedome: ſtamped certaine coynes and peices of gold with a diſhonourable mot, euen to Rome it ſelfe, *Rome is Babylon*: yet ſo much was Lewis loued and honoured of his people,

that by a peculiar title he was called, *the Father of the Country*. Greater bleſſings of God, greater outward peace and plenty, greater inward peace with ſpirituall and celeſtiall treaſures, were neuer heaped vpon my Great Brittaine, then haue been ſince my Great Brittaine became Great in the greateſt and cheifeſt reſpect of all; to wit, ſince my Great Brittaine hath ſhaken off the Popes yoke: ſince my Great Brittaine hath refuſed to receiue and to entertaine the Popes Legats, employed to collect S. Peters tribute or Peter-pence; ſince the Kings of England, my Great Brittaine, haue not beene the Popes vaſſals to do him homage for their Crown; and haue no more felt the laſhings, the ſcourgings of baſe and beggarly Monkes. Of Holland, Zeland, and Friſeland, what need I ſpeake? yet a word and no more. Were they not a kind of naked and bare people, of ſmall value, of meane reckoning and accompt, before God lighted the torch of the Goſpel, and aduanced it in thoſe Nations? were they not an ill fedde and a ſcragged people, in compariſon of the ineſtima-

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ble wealth and proſperity (both in all military actions and mechanicall trades, in trafficke as merchants, in marting as men of warre, in long nauigation for diſcoueries) to which they are now rayſed and mounted by the mercifull bleſſing of God; ſince the darknes of Popery hath been ſcattered, and the bright Sunne of the Goſpel hath ſhined in the Horiſon of thoſe Countryes? Behold the Venetian Republique. Hath ſhee now leſſe beauty, leſſe glory, leſſe peace and proſperity, ſince ſhee lately fell to bicker and contend with the Pope? ſince ſhe hath wrung out of the Popes hand, the one of his two pretended and vſurped ſwords? ſince ſhe hath plumed and ſhaked his Temporall dominion? On the contrary; after the French Kings had honoured the Popes, with munificent graunts and gifts of all the cities and territories, lands and poſſeſſions, which they now hold in Italy, and the auncient Earledome of Avignon in France for an ouer-plus; were they not rudely recompenced, and homely handled by their moſt ingratefull fee-farmers

and copy-holders the Popes? Haue not Popes forged a donation of Conſtantine, of purpoſe to blot out all memory of Pepins and Charlemaignes moſt Princely and Royall donation? Haue they not vexed and troubled the State? haue they not whetted the ſonnes of Lewis the Courteous againſt their owne Father, whoſe life was a notable patterne and example of innocencie? Haue they not by their infinite exactions, robbed and ſcoured the Kingdome of all their treaſure? Were not Kings of France, driuen to ſtoppe their vſurping and violent courſes by the pragmaticall ſanction? Did they not ſundry times interdict the Kingdome, degrade the Kings, ſolicite the neighbour-Princes to inuade and lay hold on the Kingdome? Did they not pricke on and ſtir vp the people againſt the King, whereby a gate was opened to a world of troubles and parricides? Did not curſed Rauaillac render this reaſon for his monſtrous and horrible attempt; That King Henry had a deſigne to warre with God, becauſe he had a deſigne to take armes againſt his Holines,

who

who is God? This makes me to wonder, what mooued the L. Cardinall to marſhall the laſt ciuil warres and motions in France, in the ranke of examples of vnhappy ſeparation from the Pope; when the Pope himſelfe was the trumpetor of the ſame troubleſome motions. If the Pope had beene wronged and offended by the French King or his people; or if the Kingdome of France had been ſcourged with peſtilence, or famine, or ſome other calamity by forraine enemies; it might haue been taken in probability, as a vengeance of God for ſome iniurie done vnto his Vicar Generall. But his Holines beeing the root, the ground, the maſter-workeman and artificer of all theſe miſcheifes; how can it be ſaid, that God puniſheth any ſuch iniury done to the Pope? but rather that his Holines doth reuenge his owne quarrell; and which is worſt of all, when his Holines hath no iuſt cauſe of quarrell or offence. Now then, to exhort a Nation (as the L. Cardinall hath done) by the remembrance of former calamities, to curry fauour with the Pope, and to hold a

a ſtrict vnion with his Holines; is no ſolide and effectual exhortation to beare the Pope any reſpect of loue, or of reuerence and honour; but rather a rubbing of memory, and a calling to mind of thoſe greiuous calamities, whereof the Pope hath been the onely occaſion and ſource. It is alſo a threatning and obtruding of the Popes terrible thunderbolts, which neuer ſcorched nor parched any skinne, (except crauens and meticulous bodies) and haue brought many great ſhowers of bleſſings vpon my Kingdome.

As for France, if ſhe hath enioyed proſperity during the times of her good agreement with Popes; it is becauſe the Pope ſeeks the amity of Princes that are in proſperity, haue the meanes to curbe his pretenſions, and to put him to ſome plunge .Kings are not in proſperity, becauſe the Pope holds amity with Kings, but his Holineſſe vſes all deuiſes, and ſeekes all meanes to haue amity with Kings, becauſe he ſees them flouriſh and ſayle with proſperous winds. The ſwallow is no cauſe, but a compani-

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on of the ſpring: the Pope is no worker of a Kingdoms felicity, but a wooer of Kings when they ſit in felicities lap: he is no founder, but a follower of their good fortunes. On the other ſide: let a Kingdome fall into ſome greiuous diſaſter or calamity; let ciuill warres boyle in the bowels of the Kingdome; ciuill warres no leſſe dangerous to the Royall and Princely State, then fearefull and greiuous to the baſe and common people; who riſes and buſtles in the buſines ſooner then the Pope? who ruſhes ſooner into the troubled ſtreames then the Pope? who thruſts himſelfe ſooner into the heate of the quarrell then the Pope? who runnes ſooner to raiſe his gaine by the publike wracke then the Pope? and all vnder colour of a heart wounded and bleeding for the ſaluation of ſoules. If the lawfull King happen to be foyled, to be oppreſſed, and thereupon the State by his fall to beare the burden of a new maſter by the Popes practiſe; then the ſaid new-maſter muſt hold the Kingdome as of the Popes free gift; and rule or guide the ſterne of the State at his

becke,

becke; and by his inſtructions. If the firſt and right Lord, in deſpite of all the Popes fulminations and fire-workes, ſhall winne the honourable day, and get the vpper hand of his enemies; then the holy Father with a cheerefull and pleaſant grace, yea with fatherly gratulation, opens the rich cabinet of his iewells, I meane the treaſury of his indulgences; and falls now to dandle and cocker the King in his fatherly lap, whoſe throat (if his intentions and practiſes might haue taken effect) hee would haue made little conſcience to cut before.

This peſtilent miſcheife hath now for a long time taken roote, and is growne to a great head in the Chriſtian world, through the ſecret but yet moſt rightfull and iuſt iudgement of God; by whom Chriſtian Kings haue been long ſmitten with a ſpirit of dizzineſſe. Chriſtian Kings who for many ages paſt haue liued in ignorance; without any ſound inſtruction, without any true ſenſe and right feeling of their owne right and power: whileſt vnder a ſhadow of Religion and falſe cloake of pie-

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ty, their Kingdomes haue been ouer-burdened, yea ouer-borne with tributes, and their Crownes made to ſtoope euen to the moſt greiuous yoake of miſerable bondage. That God in whoſe hand the hearts of Kings are poiſed, and at his pleaſure turned as the water-courſes; that mighty God alone, in his good time, is able to rouze them out of ſo deepe a ſlumber; and to take order (their drowzy fits once ouer and ſhaken off with heroicall ſpirits) that Popes hereafter ſhall play no more vpon their Princely patience, nor preſume to put bits and ſnaffles in their noble mouthes, to the binding vp of their mighty power with weake chordes of ſcruples; like mighty bulls lead about by little children with a ſmall twiſted threed. To that God, that King of Kings I deuote my Scepter; at his feet in all humbleneſſe of ſpirit I lay downe my Crowne; to his holy decrees and commaunds I will endeauour and ſtriue to be approoued his faithfull ſeruant, and in his battels his faithfull champion. To conclude; in this iuſt cauſe and quarrell, I dare ſend the challenge (and will

require no second) to maintaine as a defendant of honour; that my Brother-Princes and my Selfe, whom God hath aduanced vpon the Throne of Soueraigne Maiesty and supreame dignity, doe hold the Royall dignity of his Maiesty alone; To whose seruice, as a most humble homager and vassall, I consecrate all the glory, honour, splendor, and lustre of my earthly Kingdomes.

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